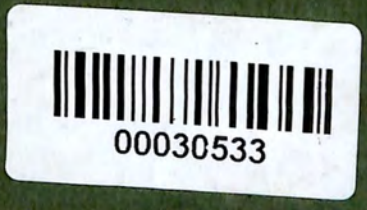
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LETTERS

OF

WILLIAM III. AND LOUIS XIV.

AND OF

THEIR MINISTERS;

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE

DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLITICS OF ENGLAND

FROM

THE PEACE OF RYSWICK

TO

THE ACCESSION OF PHILIP V. OF SPAIN.

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1697 TO 1700.

EDITED

BY PAUL GRIMBLOT.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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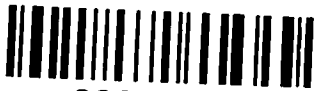

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LONDON
Spottiswoode and Shaw,
New-street-Square

TO

THE RIGHT HON. T. B. MACAULAY

These Volumes are Inscribed

BY

THE EDITOR.

PREFACE.

As their title implies, the collection of original documents here given to the world is intended to throw a new light on a period in the history of England full of interest, and but little known. A century has elapsed since Lord Chesterfield thus wrote to his son:—

"The interval between the conclusion of the peace of Ryswick, and the breaking out of the great war in 1702, though a short, is a most interesting one. Every week of it almost produced some great event:—two Partition treaties, the death of the King of Spain, his unexpected Will, and the acceptance of it by Louis XIV., in violation of the second treaty of Partition, just signed and ratified by him; Philip V., quietly and cheerfully received in Spain, and acknowledged as king of it, by most of those powers who afterwards joined in alliance to dethrone him."

Unluckily, I can offer no more than a selection from materials which, to be duly appreciated, would require a surer and more practised hand than my own, and an amount of talent to which I have no pretensions. In publishing them in a foreign language I have been obliged to confine

myself to discharging properly my editorial duty; which consisted in making an interesting selection, illustrating with perspicuous notes points that required elucidation, and superintending the translation, which in a work of this kind should aim rather at correctness than the rarer merit of elegance. But even this object was not so easy of attainment; and I should be well pleased if I should be found to have acquitted myself, if not with honour, at least without reproach. Others more able than myself will reap much advantage from these documents. For me it will be sufficient, if the English public, keeping in view the disadvantages of my position, shall receive with some indulgence the fruit of many years' labour and protracted researches.

The Series opens with the correspondence of Louis XIV. and Marshal Boufflers, in reference to the conferences held near Brussels at the outposts of the two armies, in the months of July and August 1697, between the commander-in-chief of the French army and the confidant of William III.—William Bentinck, Earl of Portland. These conferences occupy a pretty considerable place in the history of this period: for they led to a speedy conclusion of the peace so long retarded, which had been negotiated at Ryswick. The letters of Louis XIV. and Marshal Boufflers were extracted from the archives of the war office in Paris.

At first sight, these letters might appear foreign to the main purpose of this publication, which is more especially to disclose the negotiations between Louis XIV. and William III. relative to the succession of Spain. The object of these conferences, the manner in which they were brought about, and the questions there discussed, have largely occupied all the English historians, and given rise to a host of conjectures more or less remote from the truth. Even Burnet, who avers that he had his information from the Earl of Portland, has either misapprehended the confidential communications that were made to him, or has been misled, for on this point he is almost as inaccurate as the compilers who have confined themselves to picking up the rumours that were in circulation upon these conferences; such as Kennet, Tindal, Ralph, Somerville, and, more recently, Mr. Wallace, the continuator of Sir James Mackintosh. Torcy and the Duke of Saint Simon have alone given some details; but these, though pretty accurate, are too brief and not sufficiently minute to cut short further conjectures.

The correspondence of Louis XIV. with Count Tallard, who was sent as ambassador to England after the conclusion of the treaty of Ryswick, has been extracted from the archives of the foreign office. I have been able to give only extracts from their letters, for the original correspondence would

have easily filled ten volumes like the present; but I can assure the reader that these extracts have been made with the greatest care. Neither in the letters of the monarch or his ambassador have I retrenched aught that relates to the first treaty of Partition, more especially in the preliminaries: I have also given at length the overtures relative to the second treaty. But I thought myself at liberty to abridge the series of discussions that lasted fifteen months, on the portions to be assigned to each of the claimants to the undivided succession of the King of Spain, as well as on the different arrangements and questions of suitable distribution; for these discussions were almost nothing but a repetition of those that had taken place during the negotiation of the first treaty, and which I have given almost in full. Moreover, the course of the negotiations may be followed without difficulty in the letters of William III. to the Pensionary Heinsius, which have the merit of being very short. I have given *in extenso* every thing in the letters of Count Tallard relating to the internal condition of England; and when we consider the nature of the embarrassments which parliament at that time caused to William III., and the few contemporary documents that have come down to us on this state of things, it will be admitted that the information they convey is of great importance.

The confidential correspondence between Wil-

liam III. and the Earl of Portland, particularly the letters of the latter, during his embassy in France, merits special attention. These letters, which were written in French, have been translated from a copy taken by Sir James Mackintosh from the originals, preserved at Welbeck Abbey. They were placed in my hands by Mr. Robert Mackintosh; and the Duke of Portland has had the kindness to allow me to make use of them. Nowhere more than in these letters addressed to his confidential and faithful servant are the noble qualities of William III. displayed, not merely as a great public character, but as one friend writing to another on a footing of equality, alike honourable to the master and the servant.

The letters of the Earl of Portland prove that he was worthy of the affection and the confidence of such a man as William III. I do not think I am wrong in asserting that public opinion will willingly, on reading this correspondence, reverse the judgment that has been pronounced on the Earl of Portland down to our own time. Perhaps, too, it will be found that his descendants have not shown befitting discernment in keeping in the dark such valuable documents. In my humble opinion, respect for the founder of their family should have led them to show how fully he merited the favour which has caused William III. to be accused of prodigality. Both the one and the other cannot but

gain by being better known. Should this work, as I have no doubt it will, contribute to this result, I should hold myself sufficiently released from the obligation conferred upon me by the Duke of Portland's kindness in intrusting to me the publication of this valuable correspondence.

For the letters of William III. to the Pensionary Heinsius I am also indebted to the courtesy of Mr. Robert Mackintosh, who confided to me a French translation of the Dutch, originally made under the direction of Sir James Mackintosh. Extracts from these letters were printed nearly a century ago. "The letters of William," says Mr. Hallam, "published in the Hardwicke State Papers, are both the most authentic and the most satisfactory explanation of his policy, during the three momentous years that closed the seventeenth century." But to me they appeared very unsatisfactory. I have completed and revised them; and it will be found, moreover, that, when fitted into the various correspondence which illustrates and elucidates their meaning, they acquire a value they were far from having in an isolated form.

William III., distinguished as he was, wielded the sword much better than the pen. His style harsh, intricate, and fettered either by the rudeness of his mother tongue, or by his want of practice when he wrote in French, is in general without force and perspicuity. His thoughts have difficulty in

finding utterance; and, instead of revealing themselves, they must be guessed at. His letters, and especially those addressed to the Pensionary Heinsius, which indicate only from time to time his opinion on the events of the day, have no literary value: they form simply materials for history; but in this respect they are of great importance. They lose throughout by the side of the grand, brilliant, and glowing style of the despatches of Louis XIV. It is the imposing grandeur of Versailles in contrast with the meaner edifices of Kensington and Loo. In reading these lengthened despatches with their flowing periods, elaborate expositions and inexhaustible meaning, we are involuntarily reminded of Bossuet. It must not be thought that these State Papers were the composition of a secretary. Written by Torcy from notes taken in council, and carefully corrected by Louis XIV. as they were read to him, they bear the mark of his singular genius for grandeur and éclat. To be convinced that to him alone is the merit of their production to be attributed, it will be sufficient to compare them with the despatches written by Torcy in his own name or even with his Memoirs; though it must be admitted that all secretaries would not have succeeded so well in conveying the thoughts of their master. But it was in some degree the language of the period. The despatches of Tallard, Harcourt, and Villars

are hardly inferior in style to those of Louis XIV., yet these were all military men, but scantily educated. May we not say with M. Cousin, "*Tout est grand dans un grand siècle*"?

But if we pass from the style to the kernel of the thought, the superiority ceases to be on the side of Louis XIV. In all their ruggedness the letters of William III. have a stamp of honesty which we might seek for in vain in the grander despatches of his rival. It is the same with the proceedings of both. William III. during the whole course of the negotiations was the dupe of Louis XIV. Not that I mean to say that the latter proposed the partition of the Spanish Succession in the view of deceiving England and the States-general. At bottom, it is true, he had no dislike to bad faith in political affairs. It was not to no purpose that he had been brought up by Anne of Austria and Cardinal Mazarin. But on this occasion he was blinded by his vanity. There is reason to think that, when he proposed to King William the plan of a partition, he was sincere, and meant to avoid a war, in the decline of his life; but the offer of so brilliant a succession to a grandson was too severe a trial for his good faith; and, perhaps, no ambitious prince would have been able to resist the temptation.

Lord Chesterfield has remarked this before me. When explaining the policy of this prince, he thus wrote to his son:—

"Louis XIV. gratified his personal pride by giving a Bourbon king to Spain, at the expense of the true interest of France; which would have acquired much more solid and permanent strength by the addition of Naples, Sicily, and Lorraine, upon the foot of the second Partition treaty; and I think it was fortunate for Europe that he preferred the Will. It is true, he might hope to influence his grandson; but he could never expect that his Bourbon posterity in France should influence his Bourbon posterity in Spain; he knew too well how weak the ties of blood are among men, and how much weaker still they are among princes."

Still though William III. has been almost universally blamed for having entered into this negotiation of the treaties of Partition, whose chief fault was that they ended unsuccessfully, all the documents here published suffice to set forth the rectitude of his intentions as well as the disinterestedness of his views.

It ill becomes a foreigner, I am aware, to reproach any nation with a want of gratitude. But William III. is not a man of one nation more than of another: he is the representative of a principle. Frenchman though I be, I look upon William III. as one of the greatest characters in history; and I willingly say with Mr. Hallam, that "a high regard for the memory of William III. may justly be reckoned one of the tests by which genuine whiggism, as opposed both to Tory and Republican

principles, has always been recognized." Was it not he, in fact, who accomplished the revolution of 1688? And this revolution—what was it but the triumph of those principles which, in the language of our day, are styled liberal, over those of absolute monarchy—the great cause, whose brilliancy is at times eclipsed, but cannot be extinguished—which, under different names, is debated in every land—which, if it must be said, has been triumphed over but yesterday in France, and on which I had fixed all my hopes and thoughts for the welfare of my country. Time was when we were wont to say that since France had had the misfortune to have her Stuarts, Providence had provided for her a William of Orange in the person of a prince whose calamities I deplore too deeply to feel at liberty to condemn him. I only regret that he had too much before his eyes the memory of his ancestor rather than that of the great man whose career presents to the gaze of posterity a far different grandeur from the miserable satisfaction of placing a duke of Anjou on the throne of Spain.

Throughout his whole life William III. never thought of himself; if he desired elevation, it was to raise the cause to which he was devoted. "It must ever," says Mr. Hallam, "be an honour to the English crown that it has been worn by so great a man;" and to this sentiment I cordially respond.

P. GRIMBLOT.

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LETTERS

OF

WILLIAM III. AND LOUIS XIV.,

AND OF THEIR MINISTERS.

MARSHAL BOUFFLERS * TO LOUIS XIV.

Camp of Sainte-Renelle,
July 1. 1697.

SIRE,

The Duke d'Elbœuf having asked my permission some days ago to send the Sieur Gaugy, his

* Louis François de Boufflers, descended from one of the most ancient and noble families of Picardy, the second son of François II., count Boufflers and Cagni, was born January 10. 1644. He entered the royal guards as a cornet in 1663; and afterwards exhibited so much talent in Flanders, that he was allowed to purchase, from the Duke de Lausun, the colonelcy of the royal dragoons. In all the enterprises of Turenne he bore a distinguished part. His gallantry at the siege of Luxemburg was rewarded with the government

equerry, to Brussels, to pay his respects to the Princess de Vaudémont, his sister, and at the same time to purchase some horses, I told him that he might do so: and, that the said Sieur Gaugy might pass the more easily, the Duke d'Elbœuf proposed that I should permit him to be accompanied by the Sieur de Giey, a gentleman of this country, whose château is at the head of our first line, who has long been known to the said Duke d'Elbœuf, and whose brother is equerry to M. de Vaudémont: to this I consented.

The said Sieurs Gaugy and de Giey, having returned from their journey and their commission, the Sieur de Giey told me that he had seen my Lord Portland *, who had desired him to give me many com-

of that city and province in 1686. In 1690 he was appointed general of the army of the Moselle, and contributed materially to the victory of Fleurus. In 1693 he was raised to the rank of Marshal of France. He defended Navarre, in 1695, against the allies, commanded by William III., and surrendered the place, after having sustained four assaults and after four months of open trenches. Having agreed to a capitulation, he was arrested as prisoner of war, and released a fortnight after, when the French had consented to send back the garrisons of Dixmude and Diense, pursuant to the cartel. It was on this occasion he became acquainted with the Earl of Portland. Louis XIV., in recompence of his great services, erected the county of Cagni, in Beauvaisis, into the dukedom of Boufflers. During the following war he defended Lille against the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene. He died at Fontainebleau, March 22. 1711, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

* William, Earl of Portland, the celebrated favourite of William III., was the third son of Henry Bentinck, Herr Van Diessenham, Overyssel, where his family had flourished for many ages.

pliments from him, and to tell me that he should be delighted to have half an hour's conversation with me, for which purpose he would willingly come two-thirds of the way; and that he requested him to give him an answer, and not to mention the subject to any one but myself. All this I communicated to Marshal Villeroy, in order to have his opinion; he agreed with me in thinking that I should have the honour to give to your Majesty, by a special

In his youth he was page of honour to William, Prince of Orange. In 1670 he waited on him in England. In 1675, on the Prince of Orange's having the small-pox, which had been very fatal to his family, Sir W. Temple has made this observation (Memoirs) on Mr. Bentinck's care and assiduity. "I cannot forbear to give Monsieur Bentinck the character due to him, of the best servant I have known in princes' or private families. He tended his master during the whole course of his disease, both night and day; and the Prince told me, that whether he slept or no, he could not tell; but in sixteen days and nights, he never called once that he was not answered by Monsieur Bentinck as if he had been awake. The first time the Prince was well enough to have his head opened and combed, Monsieur Bentinck, as soon as it was done, begged of his master to give him leave to go home, for he was able to hold up no longer. He did so, and fell immediately sick of the same disease, and in great extremity; but recovered just soon enough to attend the Prince into the field, where he was ever next his person." On the accession of King William III. to the throne, Bentinck was made groom of the stole, first lord of the bedchamber, and sworn of the privy council on February 13th, 1688–1689, the day he was proclaimed; and two days before the coronation, he was created Baron Circenster, Viscount Woodstock, and Earl of Portland. In 1696, he was created a knight of the Garter, at which time he was also lieutenant-general of his Majesty's forces; for his services were not confined to the cabinet. He likewise distinguished himself in the field on several occasions.

courier, an account of this conversation between the Sieur de Giey and my Lord Portland, and of the commission with which his Lordship charged him for me. And, as I was previously very desirous to ascertain from the Sieur de Giey, whether it was merely a compliment to me from my Lord Portland, or whether it was a commission, he has positively assured me that it was a commission, and has given me a certificate to that effect in writing, as your Majesty will see, by the annexed memorial, signed by the Sieur de Giey.

I shall wait for the honour of your Majesty's orders upon this subject, to which I shall punctually conform.

(ENCLOSURE.)

June 30. 1697.

The undersigned declares that my Lord Portland sent for him on Thursday morning to the Château de Coukelberghe, where he was lodging, and asked the undersigned whether he had seen Marshal de Boufflers, and whether he was returning to the camp? Having replied in the affirmative, he said that he wished me to present many compliments from him, and give many assurances of his esteem to the Marshal, and that he should be delighted to have half an hour's conversation with him, for which purpose he would willingly go two-thirds of the way; and that he requested me to tell him so, and to be so good as to bring him an answer; to which I replied, that I would bring it the following day. To this he said, "I do not believe that he will give it you so soon, because he will perhaps desire to communicate first with the Court;" and, as I took leave, he told me not to speak of it to any person till the Marshal had given me the answer which I was to bring him.

(Signed) DE GIEY, BARON D'ARTIGNY.

LOUIS XIV. TO MARSHAL BOUFFLERS.

Versailles, July 2. 1697.

My Cousin,

I received by the courier, whom you despatched to me, the letter which you wrote on the 1st of this month, giving me an account of the proposal made to you, on the part of my Lord Portland, by a gentleman who had been to Brussels with the equerry of the Duke d'Elbœuf, to have half an hour's conversation with you. I am willing that you should consent to this proposal, and you may agree together on a rendezvous, taking all necessary precautions for your safety, and repairing to this rendezvous with all the dignity becoming a marshal of France who commands one of my armies.

It is of the highest importance that it should appear that it is my Lord Portland who has asked of you this short conversation. Remember, when you are with him, to speak as little as possible of the present state of affairs, and to draw from him all you possibly can. You will give me an account by a courier of all that shall have passed.

MARSHAL BOUFFLERS TO LOUIS XIV.

Camp of Sainte-Renelle,
July 5. 1697.

Sire,

I received yesterday, at two o'clock in the morning, the letter with which your Majesty has

been pleased to honour me, dated the 2d of this month, by which your Majesty does me the honour to inform me that you approve of my consenting to the proposal which my Lord Portland has made me to have half an hour's conversation with him; and that, for this purpose, I shall arrange a rendezvous with him, taking all necessary precautions for my safety, and repairing to the rendezvous with all the dignity becoming a marshal of France who has the honour to command one of your Majesty's armies. I shall not fail, Sire, to conform with this, as with every other thing which your Majesty does me the honour to direct, in the same letter, respecting the conversation which I shall have with my Lord Portland, and of the importance that it should appear to the public, that it is the said Lord Portland who has asked me for it. I perfectly understand this, as well as of what consequence it is that the Dutch, and the other allies, who may be well disposed to peace, may not believe that there is a desire to enter into any separate negotiation without their knowledge, while the general negotiations are open; and it is very possible that the motive of my Lord Portland, in desiring this conversation, is founded on an order of the Prince of Orange, who wishes to derive some advantage from it, and to excite mistrust in the Dutch.

A very long walk, which the Count de Toulouse * and I took with Marshal Villeroy, at four o'clock in the morning, hindered me from speaking yes-

* Natural son of Louis XIV. and Madame de Montespan.

terday to the Sieur de Giey, in order to send him back to my Lord Portland, to arrange a rendezvous. I shall speak to him to-day, that he may go to his Lordship to-morrow.

The said Sieur de Giey having, since my letter of the 1st July, returned to Brussels by my permission, to bring English horses for the Count de Toulouse and the Duke d'Elbœuf, I desired him, in case he should see my Lord Portland, to tell him in general terms that he had executed his commission with reference to me; that I should be charmed, since he expressed a wish that some opportunity might offer, to see him and to embrace him; and that, as soon as I could let him hear from me respecting the proposal which he had made, I would not fail to do so. The said Sieur de Giey returned the evening before yesterday. He told me that he had seen my Lord Portland, who had asked him whether he had seen me, and had executed his commission, and how I had received it. On his telling him that I had received it very well, and in a very obliging manner, he again expressed a great desire to see and converse with me; adding, that for that purpose he would repair to any place I might desire, and that he would impatiently expect to hear from me.

MARSHAL BOUFFLERS TO LOUIS XIV.

Camp of Sainte-Renelle, July 8. 1697.
Seven o'clock in the evening.

Sire,

I have this moment returned from the rendezvous with my Lord Portland, after a conversation of nearly two hours which I had with him at the village of Brucom, a quarter of a league from Halle.* As the details of it will be too long, I shall delay having the honour of giving an account of it to your Majesty till to-morrow, by another special courier. All that I can have the honour to tell your Majesty at present is, that my Lord Portland spoke to me by order of the Prince of Orange, to express the sincerity with which he desires peace, requesting me to have the honour to inform your Majesty of it; positively assuring me, that if satisfaction be given him on points which concern him (the Prince of Orange) personally, he will oblige the Emperor and the Spaniards to make peace; being satisfied, for himself as well as the States General, with the offers which your Majesty has made in the preliminaries, and that, if the Emperor and the Spaniards persist in refusing to make peace, he will conclude it without them, together with the Dutch.

* A small town of South Brabant, ten miles S.W. of Brussels.

MARSHAL BOUFFLERS TO LOUIS XIV.

Camp at Sainte-Renelle,
July 9. 1697.

Sire,

I had the honour to announce to your Majesty, by a letter of yesterday evening, the interview which I have had with my Lord Portland, and which I would have the honour to report to you to-day, more at length. In fulfilment of this promise, I have now the honour to say, that — your Majesty having consented, by the letter which you did me the favour to write on the 2d of this month, that I should give an interview to the said my Lord Portland, according to the repeated requests which he had made to me through the Sieur de Giey — I sent the said de Giey back to Brussels on the 7th, to tell the said my Lord Portland, that, according to the wish which he had expressed to see and have an interview with me, he might, if he desired it, be on the 8th at two o'clock in the afternoon, near Halle, with an escort of fifty troopers, whom he should leave at the distance of a quarter of a league from Halle, at which place I would be at the same hour.

Yesterday at seven o'clock in the morning, I received, by a trumpeter of M. de Vaudémont, a letter from the Sieur de Giey, in consequence of which I sent him a passport by the same trumpeter.

I repaired to Halle about two o'clock to wait for news from the Sieur de Giey; I had sent thither, beforehand, the lieutenant of my guards, with ten

or twelve of his men, with orders to go, about one o'clock in the afternoon, to the village of Brucom, the place of rendezvous, carefully to examine it on all sides, for fear of some treachery; and there to wait for the Sieur de Giey and his suite, and give me notice at Halle.

Besides this, I had sent fifty carabineers, fifty troopers, and fifty dragoons, to the heights of Halle, as ordinary guards, — which place of Halle we occupy every day, by three-hundred infantry, as an advanced post;—and I had requested the Marquis de Pracomtal to put himself at the head of the cavalry above mentioned, and from time to time to send some officers to the village of Brucom to receive information from the lieutenant of my guards.

My Lord Portland did not fail to repair to the said village precisely at two o'clock, with the Sieur de Giey, the trumpeter whom I had given him, and six or seven of his own gentlemen. M. de Pracomtal, having been immediately informed by the lieutenant of my guards, went unattended to meet my Lord Portland, and told him that he was going to apprise me at Halle of his arrival. As soon as I was informed of it, I mounted my horse and proceeded to this village of Brucom, at the distance of a short quarter of a league from Halle, accompanied by Count Tallard, Count Gacé, the Duke de Guiche, and several general officers and others; followed by my people and my guards, without any troops.

As soon as my Lord Portland was informed of my approach, he came to meet me with much

cordiality and eagerness. I received him in the same manner, and introduced all the gentlemen who were with me. After reciprocal compliments, we alighted in an orchard, and every body having retired out of hearing, my Lord, after the repetition of mutual civilities, and after expressing the sentiments of esteem which the Prince of Orange had for me, immediately entered upon the subject, observing that the Prince of Orange could not show me a greater proof of his good opinion, than by the command which he had given him, to speak to me about the difficulties which delayed the conclusion of the peace; believing, as he did, from the marks of esteem and confidence with which your Majesty honours me, that this would be a shorter way to remove them, than the conferences at Ryswick.*

Upon this I intimated that I had no orders from your Majesty, and therefore I could not take any thing upon myself; that on the wish which he had intimated to me by the Sieur de Giey, to see and converse with me, I had thought I could take upon myself to give him a rendezvous, and that I ventured to hope that your Majesty would not take

* The first conferences for peace had taken place in 1693, but came to nothing. New proposals were made by Louis XIV. shortly afterwards, under the mediation of Sweden, which were formally accepted by the allies. But it was not till the 10th of February, 1697, that the French plenipotentiaries delivered to Baron Lillieroot, the Swedish ambassador and mediator, the preliminary articles, containing the conditions offered by France. The congress was opened at Ryswick, near the Hague, on the 9th of May following.

it amiss; that, however, since he spoke to me, on behalf of the Prince of Orange, I should have the honour to give your Majesty an account of our conversation; and that I would afterwards let him (that is my Lord Portland) know with what instructions your Majesty would be pleased to favour me.

To this he replied, with much politeness and tact, that he was too well persuaded of my good feelings for him, to believe that, seeing the time which had elapsed since he had signified his wish to see and converse with me, I should not have been ready sooner to give him the rendezvous which I had now granted him, if I had not desired previously to communicate with your Majesty, and to await your orders; that, however, without entering into any further discussion on that point, he would speak to me in the same manner as if he were assured that I was furnished with your Majesty's orders.

He began by saying that the Prince of Orange was much grieved that, notwithstanding his sincere desire of peace, every body, and particularly the plenipotentiaries of your Majesty and their emissaries, endeavoured to make it be believed that he alone delayed and opposed it, and secretly caused the Emperor and the Spaniards to raise difficulties; that this was entirely contrary to the truth, and to his views; that he considered all that your Majesty had offered in the preliminaries very reasonable; that he found the demands and the difficulties raised by the Emperor and the Spaniards very unreasonable; and that, to show the truth of his

good intentions respecting peace, — if the satisfaction which he has a right to demand on the points concerning himself (that is, the Prince of Orange) personally were granted, and if the same securities were given him which were desired by us, for a good, solid, sincere, and durable peace, — he would take upon him to make the Emperor and the Spaniards consent to the conditions which your Majesty has offered in the preliminaries; and that, if they persist in refusing these, he will make peace with your Majesty without them, for Holland and England.

The difficulties which concern the Prince of Orange consist of three points: —

The first is, that the Prince of Orange desires that by the peace which is to be concluded, and by which your Majesty consents to recognize him as King of England, your Majesty shall promise and engage not to favour, directly or indirectly, King James against him. The plenipotentiaries of your Majesty agree, as my Lord Portland has told me, that your Majesty shall engage and promise not to favour, directly or indirectly, the enemies of the Prince of Orange acknowledged King of England. The Prince of Orange desires that King James shall be designated by name, because it is a particular case, and that so long as King James shall remain in France, the Prince of Orange cannot doubt that he has a declared enemy in France, who, being within reach of England, will have all kinds of facilities to form parties there, and to excite the people against him; and thus,

instead of enjoying the peace which will have been given to all Europe, it will be a means of carrying on war more certainly against him alone, and of keeping him in constant trouble and agitation, while all the rest of Europe will be enjoying the benefits of peace; and that so long as King James shall be in France, though the Prince of Orange is fully persuaded of the good intentions of your Majesty, strictly to observe the peace, and to render it stable and durable, there will always be room for suspicion that, even contrary to the intentions of your Majesty, King James will derive assistance from France to foment trouble and rebellion in England; that, therefore it is absolutely necessary for the security of the Prince of Orange, that your Majesty should engage *expressly* not to favour, directly or indirectly, King James *nominatim*, and that he shall go and reside at Rome, or elsewhere out of France, provided he be not near enough to keep up any party in England; that if too much reluctance be felt to engage, *nominatim*, not to favour King James, directly or indirectly, other equivalent terms may be found which may give the securities that the Prince of Orange desires; that he will consent to this, but that it is indispensable, in order to remove all suspicion, that King James shall reside out of France.

The second point relates to the obligation which it is desired to impose by the peace on the Prince of Orange; to grant a general amnesty to all who have followed the fortunes of the King of England, and whom the Prince of Orange looks upon as

rebellious subjects and his personal enemies, since he is acknowledged King of England by the parliament; and besides this, to the further obligation of restoring them, by this general amnesty, to all their estates. To this last article the Prince replies, that it is a matter which is not in his power, even if he desired it, since the English parliament has passed an Act expressly prohibiting it; and that, therefore, he cannot go against the laws and constitution of the State; that as for the general amnesty, besides that his honour and glory demand that he shall not be forced to it by a treaty of peace, the safety of his own person requires him not to recall individuals to England whom he knows to be his personal enemies; but that, as soon as he shall be acknowledged King of England, and in undisturbed possession, by the treaty of peace, he will readily, of his own free will, pardon those who shall seem to him disposed to return with good faith, and to live in quietness, behaving as good and loyal subjects; that, therefore, he cannot consent to a general amnesty, nor to the restoration of their property; and that he does not think it reasonable that endeavours should be persisted in to oblige him to do so.

The third point relates to the principality of Orange. . . . . *

* As the discussion of this article, which occupied a large space, is of no interest at present, it will suffice to give the substance of it in the terms used by Torey, in his Memoirs.

"The third article treated of in these conferences related to the town of Orange. Marshal Boufflers required that the sub-

This, Sire, is what Lord Portland said to me, and he requested me to obtain for him, as soon as possible, an answer, according to which the Prince of Orange may adopt a resolution, either for the speedy conclusion of the peace, or to break off the conferences.

Lord Portland let fall a word—I believe purposely, but without appearing to lay stress upon it—that, perhaps, when peace was once concluded, and the agitation of people's minds calmed, your Majesty would not be sorry to have an ally like the Prince of Orange, and that then you would find him as faithful and conscientious in favouring the interests of your Majesty, as he has hitherto been opposed to them.

jects of the King should be prohibited from entering and from residing in that town; his Majesty foreseeing that the new converts, still attached to their former errors, would flock from the provinces adjacent to Orange, and would settle in that town, if they were at liberty to do so. Portland maintained that the prohibition required would be contrary to the pretended sovereignty of Orange: however he agreed that the King, his master, should secretly give his word to prevent every subject of the King from settling in Holland, without the permission of his Majesty."

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.*

Camp before Brussels,
July 11. 1697.

I am very glad to learn that the ambassadors of France † aver that they sincerely desire peace, and that they wish to terminate the negotiations speedily. With respect to the last article, I do not at all believe it; but it is always desirable to see

* Antony Heinsius, grand pensionary of Holland by successive quinquennial elections, from the year 1689, until his death, which took place on the 3d of August 1720, at the age of seventy-nine, was one of the statesmen who, during this memorable period, exercised the greatest influence on the affairs of Europe. He commenced his public career as councillor-pensionary of the town of Delft. The Prince of Orange honoured him with the most unlimited confidence, and he enjoyed the same favour when that Prince became King of England. Torey, in his "Memoirs," describes Heinsius "as a man of consummate ability in the management of affairs, cold in his manners, polished in his conversation, having nothing repulsive in his demeanour, and rarely warmed, far less excited, by debate. His exterior," adds the same authority, "was simple, and his house plain; an establishment composed of a secretary, a coachman, a lacquey, and a female servant; by no means indicating the importance of a prime minister."

† The Counts Crécy, Harlay, and F. de Caillières. The plenipotentiaries of William III. were the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Villiers, and Sir Joseph Williamson, with Mathew Prior for secretary; the ambassadors of the Emperor were Count Kaunitz, Count Straatman, and Baron Seilern; of the King of Spain, Don Quiros and Count Tirlemont; the plenipotentiaries for the States-General were Mr. Boreel for the Province of Holland, Mr. van Dyckvelt for the Province of Utrecht, and Mr. van Haeren for the Frise.

so clearly that they fear to break off the negotiations, which is the only ground that remains for us to hope they may soon be brought to a conclusion. It is the more necessary for that purpose to press the negotiations. The best means of attaining that object is, to negotiate secretly through the ambassador of the state*; for, as for the mediator, we see clearly that he seeks only to delay. It is indeed inconceivable that we should be agreed with France on all essential points, and yet unable to conclude a peace; and that only because each of the two parties suspects the intentions of the other. It seems to me that this is not difficult to be cleared up, and that we might then come to a conclusion in some way or other. The Earl of Portland has informed you of what passed between him and the Marshal Boufflers: I do not expect much from it. It is probable that he will receive only an answer in general terms. Thus every thing will have to be done at the Hague, as I always thought it would.

MARSHAL BOUFFLERS TO LOUIS XIV.

Camp of Sainte-Renelle,
July 11. 1697.

Sire,

Since the letter which I had the honour to write to your Majesty on the 9th, nothing new has happened here. The Sieur de Giey, who had returned to Brussels on the 8th, with Lord Portland, came back yesterday. He told me that Lord Portland had

* Boreel.

again commissioned him to offer me many compliments and civilities, and to tell me that he should look with impatience for news from me; that I might continue to employ the Sieur de Giey to communicate with me, and at the same time to order him to follow me, in case I should make some movement; that if I did not think proper to order the Sieur de Giey to follow me, I might make use of any other channel which I should think more proper to let him hear from me. In all this there seems to be great eagerness on the part of Lord Portland, and consequently on that of the Prince of Orange, to enter on the subject, since Lord Portland acts only by his orders; and, as far as can be judged by appearances, there is reason to believe that it is in good faith, and with the intention of concluding peace as soon as possible.

LOUIS XIV. TO MARSHAL BOUFFLERS.

Marly, July 12. 1697.

My Cousin,

I have received the letter which you wrote to me on the 9th of this month, giving me a detailed account of what passed in the conference which you had with the Sieur de Bentinck.* I begin my answer by telling you that I approve of your conduct in going to Brucom, and of the manner in which you spoke on all the proposals that were made to you, which is conformable to my dignity, my own views, and my true interests. Al-

* William Bentinck, Earl of Portland.

though the three proposals which were made to you were likewise made at Ryswick to my plenipotentiaries, who have already explained what I could grant or refuse in reference to what these demands contained, I will however enable you to answer the Sieur de Bentinck according to the sentiments which I entertain.

My intention is that you shall begin by assuring the Sieur de Bentinck that I receive with pleasure the marks which the Prince of Orange gives me, by word of mouth, of the ardent desire which he feels to merit the return of my favour; that for this purpose you shall state that I could have wished that the Prince had given me the same opportunities as the kings, his predecessors, have had, to show their affection for his House; that though the contrary engagements into which he has entered have prevented this, he may nevertheless rest assured, that I could not see him at the head of so powerful a league as that which has been formed against me, without having that esteem for him which the deference that the principal powers of Europe have for his opinions seems to demand; that even his perseverance in the alliances contrary to my interests gives me reason to believe, that those which the good of Europe now requires me to contract with him will be equally durable.

He may easily observe that the conditions which I have offered for the restoration of peace, show that I prefer the public tranquillity to my own interests; that these I have sacrificed in abandoning fortresses so numerous and so important as

those which I am willing to give up to my enemies.

They have found in me no doubt a spirit of accommodation which they could not hope for, when my own interest solely was in question;—but honour, of which kings must be so jealous, cannot suffer the smallest violation, and those who desire to treat sincerely ought not even to make the attempt. It is wounded by the proposal which has been made to me to name expressly in the treaty, and to engage to remove from my kingdom, a king who has found no asylum except with me, and no alleviation of his misfortunes except in the manner in which I have received him. My attention to him ought, on the contrary, to convince the Prince of Orange of the solidity of my friendship for those to whom I grant it, and of the certain reliance which he may place on all that I shall promise him, when he has recovered my favour; and as I am persuaded of the sincerity of the assurances which are given me on his part, he must also be convinced of my intention perfectly to respond to them.

With respect to what the Sieur de Bentinck expressed to you of his fears, that, so long as the King of England should be in my kingdom he might easily derive assistance from it, even contrary to my intentions, to favour the secret practices of those who are attached to his party, it will be easy for you to show the weakness of this objection. All Europe is sufficiently aware of the obedience and submission of my people, and when

I shall please to hinder my subjects from assisting the King of England, — as I engage to do, by promising not to assist, directly or indirectly, the enemies of the Prince of Orange without any exception, — there is no reason to apprehend that he will find any assistance in my kingdom.

After having shown the Sieur de Bentinck, as I point out to you, that it is impossible to obtain from me any change on this point, it is my intention that you shall declare that if the Prince of Orange does not desist from what he has demanded on this head, it is useless to enter on the discussion of the other articles.

Since, however, I desire to show my enemies that I am ready to give all the explanations which may be necessary to promote the peace, I order you to make this declaration:—that my principal view is, to render the peace firm and durable; that I have proposed the terms in such a manner, that it may suppress in future all the sources of a new war; that I have the same regard for what concerns the Prince of Orange, and that therefore it is by no means to lessen the rights of his sovereignty in the town of Orange that I demand that none of my subjects shall settle in it without my permission; that, on the contrary, it is to prevent the different incidents that might disturb the peace which I wish to maintain with him; that it is easy to see that that town would soon become the retreat of all the malecontents of my kingdom, if this liberty were granted by the treaty; that I am persuaded that the Prince of Orange sincerely desires to maintain a perfectly good understanding with me;

and, being thus minded, he would be continually in the embarrassing alternative, either of refusing to send away from that town those who should disturb the tranquillity of my kingdom, or hinder them from enjoying the asylum which he now wishes to secure to them; lastly, that to obtain this condition, so necessary to the repose of my kingdom, I am ready, if it cannot be otherwise, to consent, though with regret, no further to urge the demand for a general amnesty for the English who have followed the king, their master.

After this precise declaration of my intentions, which I would have you make to the Sieur de Bentinck, as I am very glad to remove from the Dutch every suspicion which might perhaps be suggested to them, that I think of making a separate treaty, without communicating with them; and as I am of opinion, for these reasons, that this affair, which has been begun at Ryswick, ought to continue to be treated there, you will tell the Sieur de Bentinck that the confusion of a camp, the various marches of an army, &c., are not calculated for conferences on peace; and that as they are opened in Holland, and the ministers of the Prince of Orange are on the spot, able, from what they know of his real sentiments, to acquaint my plenipotentiaries with them, it is my opinion that, after the conference which you will have with him, it would be better that my plenipotentiaries should be informed of my intentions, to answer to the proposals which will be made to them in future on the subjects of which I have just treated.

LORD VILLIERS* TO THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.†

Hague, July 12. 1697.

We have not yet received any answer to our project. The French expected to have found in it

* Edward, first Earl of Jersey, was the eldest son and heir of Edward Villiers, who was, for his services in the cause of Charles I. and his son, honoured with knighthood, (April 7. 1680,) and appointed knight-marshal of the household. His lady was governess of the Princesses Mary and Anne, both afterwards Queens of Great Britain. His son attended the Princess Mary to Holland, after her marriage with the Prince of Orange, with whom he came into England in 1688, and, on their being proclaimed King and Queen of England, was, on the first settlement of their household, appointed master of the horse to the Queen; and the death of his father happening soon after, he succeeded him in his place of knight-marshal. Advancing farther in their Majesties' favour, he was, in the third year of their reign, created Viscount Villiers of Dartford and Baron Villiers of Hoo, In 1695, he was sent envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the congress at the Hague. In 1697, he was constituted one of the lord justices in Ireland, being also at the same time appointed one of the plenipotentiaries for the treaty of Ryswick. Soon after the peace, he received the character of ambassador extraordinary to the States General; and shortly after, having been created Earl of Jersey, (October 13.) he returned in England, where he was sworn of the privy council (November 25. 1697). The Earl of Jersey was the brother of Elizabeth, maid of honour to Mary, Princess of Orange, and married, in 1695, to the Lord George Hamilton, afterwards created Earl of Orkney. This lady was believed to be the mistress of William III.

† Charles Talbot, twelfth Earl and first Duke of Shrewsbury, of one of the most illustrious families of England, was born in 1660, and succeeded to the first title at a very early age, his

the article against King James, but his Majesty rather chose to have that matter treated by word

father having been killed by the Duke of Buckingham in a duel. The family was then, as at present, Roman Catholic; but the young Earl embraced the Protestant faith in 1679, after having been instructed by Dr. Tillotson. He gave soon a strong proof of the sincerity of his conversion in preferring, after the accession of James II., to incur his displeasure rather than to reconcile himself to the church of his fathers. The same conviction led him to oppose the measures of that monarch for the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic worship; and he was among the foremost of those who invited the Prince of Orange. As early as May, 1687, we find a letter of his, conveying professions of his zeal to that Prince, who was then endeavouring to gain partisans and ascertain the state of the public mind in England. He was likewise one of the illustrious seven who signed the celebrated association in June, 1688. Convinced of the necessity of an immediate revolution, he even mortgaged his estates, and, repairing to Holland, offered his purse and sword to the Prince of Orange. He accompanied the Prince to England; and, while William remained in suspense at Exeter, the Earl of Shrewsbury was one of the nobles in whom he chiefly trusted, by whose advice he drew up the famous declaration. In the progress of the Revolution he took an active part, and was one of the three Peers despatched by the Prince to treat with those sent by James. In the Convention-Parliament he opposed the measures of those who wished to establish a regency, or to place the crown on the head of Mary. On the settlement of the new government, he was nominated one of the privy council, appointed secretary of state, intrusted with the lord-lieutenancy of three counties, and raised soon after to a dukedom. The services of the Duke of Shrewsbury, his amiable character, his talents for business, endeared him to William III.; and so polished, engaging, and conciliatory were his manners as to make him loved and trusted by both parties. William III. used to call him "the king of hearts." "I never," says a most acute observer, though an enemy, Lord Bolingbroke, "I never knew a man so formed to please and to gain upon the affections."

of mouth, and there is nothing yet agreed on about it.

The Pensionary is returned from the army, and I find by him that his Majesty is of opinion that this negotiation must be quickly made an end of one way or other. The Imperialists seem to be of this opinion, but the great difficulty will be to bring them to like those terms*, which we had rather accept than carry on the war. The French seem resolved to give nothing beyond the peace of Nimeguen, and I doubt if they would have given that in every point, if their designs this summer had succeeded.

Marshal Boufflers has lately had a meeting with my Lord Portland, near Halle. I am told it was about the peace, though I do not know the particulars.

MARSHAL BOUFFLERS TO LOUIS XIV.

Camp of Sainte-Renelle, July 15. 1697.

Sire,

I received the night before last the letter which your Majesty was pleased to do me the honour to write to me on the 12th of this month, in which your Majesty does me the honour to state your intentions, to which I shall not fail punctually to conform.

* So in the original.

Accordingly I again sent Sieur de Giey to Brussels to inform the Sieur de Bentinck, that if he thought fit to repair this afternoon to the same place, at the same hour, and in the same manner as before, I would not fail to go thither and have a conference with him. This morning I received a letter from the Sieur de Giey, in consequence of which I shall not fail to go to the village of Brucom at the hour appointed.

MARSHAL BOUFFLERS TO LOUIS XIV.

Camp of Sainte-Renelle, July 15. 1697.

Sire,

M. de Bentinck and myself met at Brucom about three o'clock in the afternoon, in the same manner on both sides as the first time. After an interchange of civilities, we alighted from our horses, and M. de Bentinck having asked me whether I had had the honour to give your Majesty an account of our interview, and whether I had received an answer, I replied in the affirmative; and, before proceeding to business, I began by telling the said Sieur de Bentinck all that your Majesty did me the honour to direct by your letter of the 12th, on the subject of the Prince of Orange, as well on his eagerness to merit the return of your Majesty's favour, as on the esteem which your Majesty feels for the Prince of Orange; giving

him to understand, as your Majesty has directed me, that the steadfastness displayed by the Prince of Orange in connections hostile to your Majesty's interests, gives you ground to believe that those which the good of Europe now requires your Majesty to contract with him will be equally durable.

M. de Bentinck expressed lively joy at these obliging assurances on the part of your Majesty, and told me that he would give a very faithful account of them to the Prince of Orange, who would be greatly rejoiced at them, desiring as he does the esteem and friendship of your Majesty, saying, that he had the commands of the Prince of Orange to tell me that I might assure your Majesty that no person had more esteem, veneration, and respect for your Majesty than the Prince of Orange (these are his own words). He added further, that even if the inclination of the Prince of Orange himself did not lead him to entertain all these feelings towards your Majesty, his own interest would induce him to endeavour to be on good terms with your Majesty.

After having declared to M. de Bentinck that I would punctually and gladly execute this commission, and that I could assure him beforehand that it would be very well received by your Majesty; I said, to enter on our subject, that the Prince of Orange might easily judge by the conditions which your Majesty has offered for the restoration of peace, that you prefer the public tranquillity to your own interests, which you have

sacrificed, by giving up fortresses at once so numerous and so important as those which your Majesty is ready to abandon to your enemies; but that though they have found in your Majesty a spirit of accommodation which they could not have hoped for, when nought but your interest was concerned, yet when your Majesty's honour was in question you would never suffer the least violation of it; that it was wounded by the proposal which was made to your Majesty to name the King of England in the treaty, and to engage to cause him to quit your Majesty's kingdom; to which I added all the other arguments which your Majesty has done me the honour to point out on this head, to show him how far your Majesty was from consenting to it, though you are nevertheless willing to engage, and to consent in good faith not to assist directly or indirectly the enemies of the Prince of Orange, without any exception; pointing out to him at the same time, that this expression, "without any exception," independently of the good faith and sincerity of your Majesty, leaves no suspicion of a restriction in favour of any person whatsoever, as it comprehends all in general.

He told me that the Prince of Orange was very sensible of the repugnance which your Majesty must feel to name the King of England in the treaty, and also to oblige him by the treaty to quit your Majesty's kingdom; and that as it was by no means his wish to ask any thing which might be personally unpleasant to your Majesty, he would willingly consent that the King of England, com-

monly called King James, should be neither named nor even designated in the treaty; but that since the safety of the Prince of Orange was at stake, he desired that, in concluding the peace, instead of naming King James, terms might be found which should give entire security that your Majesty will not favour directly or indirectly the King of England, nor the cabals, secret intrigues, and rebellions, which may take place in England; and that, to make matters equal on both sides, and not to give occasion to designate King James in any way, the Prince of Orange might be reciprocally obliged to use the same terms as those employed by your Majesty, that is to say, your Majesty, promising and engaging by the treaty not to favour or assist, directly or indirectly, the enemies of the Prince of Orange with any exception or restriction; and likewise not to favour, in any way, the cabals, secret intrigues, factions and rebellions which might occur in England, the Prince of Orange would, in like manner, engage and promise by the treaty not to favour, directly or indirectly, the enemies of your Majesty, without any exception or restriction; and, likewise, not to favour in any way the cabals, secret intrigues, factions, and rebellions, which might occur in your Majesty's kingdom; and as for requiring your Majesty to promise by the treaty to make the King of England quit your kingdom, the Prince of Orange was sensible that the same repugnance which your Majesty had to naming him, would make it yet more painful to you to engage by the treaty to

oblige him to quit your kingdom; that, therefore, he did not require it of you at present, and that no mention should be made of it in the treaty, but that the Prince of Orange hoped that, after the treaty was signed and peace concluded, your Majesty, sincerely desiring to render it firm and stable, would intimate to the King of England that he should, of his own accord, resolve to reside elsewhere, to remove all suspicion, and that nothing in the sequel may shake the solidity of the peace which both parties sincerely desire to render durable.

So that with regard to this point, of not naming King James in the treaty, and of obliging him at present to quit your Majesty's kingdom, the Prince of Orange entirely desists from it, and desires only that while he is not named, equivalent terms may be found which may give the same securities as if he were named; and which shall assure the Prince that he shall enjoy in England the peace which will be given to all Europe.

With respect to the principality of Orange,

* * * * * *

MARSHAL BOUFFLERS TO MARSHAL VILLEROY.

July 16. 1697, 9 o'clock, P. M.

On alighting here, M. de Giey came to meet me, and to say that my Lord Portland had commis-

sioned him to tell me that he should be very glad to see me again to-morrow, for half an hour only. After all that I have had the honour to tell you this evening, of our conversation yesterday, there is every reason to believe that this eagerness to give me an answer must of necessity proceed from good intentions, and that this answer shall be favourable. I confess to you that I am greatly tempted not to put it off, nor defer an affair so decisive and so important for the satisfaction of the King, and for the good of his service; the refusal or delay of this rendezvous may perhaps give occasion to changes, and I do not believe that a third interview for half an hour only can possibly do any injury to the King's service. I might change the place of meeting, and go with fewer attendants, that it may excite less notice. Help me, Sir, to come to a decision, and be so good as to let me know your opinion. After all the advances which, as I have told you, have been made, and no difficulties, as it were, remaining to hinder a conclusion, I do not believe that it is of any use to the King's service to delay bringing matters to a termination. You see that they do not wait till I have received an answer about the little difficulties, of which I said I should give an account. It is probable, therefore, that this desire to see me again so soon, can only be to pay a compliment to the King, and to leave the matter to his decision. In short, Sir, the more I reflect, the more I am convinced that it is for the King's service not to defer or refuse this rendezvous, for which I am asked for half an hour only, and that

there would be an appearance of distrust, or of *finesse* in refusal or delay, which could only produce a bad effect. All this makes me determine to take the rendezvous upon myself, unless you should send me word that I ought not to do so.

MARSHAL VILLEROY TO MARSHAL BOUFFLERS.

July 17. 1697, at midnight.

Sir,

I have just read over, for the second time, the letter which you did me the honour to write since the return of M. de Giey. All your reflections appear to be perfectly just. So speedy an answer can only indicate an approval of all that has been said, and, as you very well remark, an eagerness to let the King know that they are anticipating what may be agreeable to him. But it is reasonable to believe, with reference to the past, that so sudden a change in the conduct of the Prince of Orange can be founded only on two grounds; first, a necessity to make peace, for secret motives with which we are not acquainted; and, secondly, the desire to give an appearance of concert and understanding with the King, capable of alarming the Dutch. If it be true that the Prince of Orange is obliged to make peace in consequence of the bad state of his affairs, or from his own free will, to defer the interview for twice twenty-four hours will not change the resolve which he may have taken. If it is an artifice from which he hopes to reap some advantage, then, by

deferring it till the return of your courier, as you will be directed by the King, you will not expose yourself to any inconvenience.*

* François de Neufville, second Duke of Villeroy and Marshal of France, was at the head of an army which acted conjointly with the army commanded by Marshal Boufflers. He could not be reconciled with the preference marked by William III. in having chosen his colleague for conferring with the Earl of Portland. The motive of this honourable preference is very sensibly pointed out by the Duke of Saint-Simon, in his Memoirs:

"La paix se traitait fort lentement à Ryswick, où il s'était perdu beaucoup de temps en cérémonial et en communication de pouvoirs. Les Hollandais, qui voulaient la paix, s'en lassaient, et plus encore le Prince d'Orange. Son grand point était d'être reconnu Roi d'Angleterre par la France, et, s'il pouvait, d'obliger le Roi à faire sortir de son royaume le Roi Jacques et sa famille. Le Prince d'Orange, bien informé du désir extrême que le Roi avait de faire la paix, jugea en devoir profiter pour en faire une particulière, en stipulant pour la maison d'Autriche, sinon conclure pour l'Angleterre et la Hollande. Suivant cette idée, qu'il fit adopter secrétement aux Hollandais, Portland, par son ordre, fit demander, tout à la fin de Juin, une conférence au Maréchal de Boufflers, à la tête de leurs armées. Il avait eu commerce avec le Maréchal de Boufflers à la sortie de Namur, et pendant qu'il fut arrêté.

"Le Prince d'Orange n'ignorait ni le caractère, ni le degré de confiance et de faveur auprès du Roi des généraux de ses armées. Il aima mieux traiter avec un homme droit, franc, et libéral, tel qu'était M. de Boufflers, qu'avec l'emphase, les grands airs, et la vanité du Maréchal de Villeroy. Il ne craignait pas plus l'esprit et les lumières de l'un que de l'autre, et il comprit que ce qui passerait par eux, irait droit au Roi et reviendrait de même du Roi à eux; mais que par Boufflers ce serait avec plus de précision et de sureté, parce qu'il n'y ajouterait rien du sien, ni à informer le Roi, ni à donner ses réponses. Boufflers répondit à un gentilhomme du pays chargé de cette proposition

LOUIS XIV. TO MARSHAL BOUFFLERS.

Marly, July 17. 1697.

My Cousin,

The courier whom you despatched has delivered to me the letter which you wrote on the 15th, giving me an account of your second interview with M. de Bentinck. I see with pleasure that you have punctually executed the orders which I had given you.

I was very glad to see that, on your saying to him that I would in no wise consent to name the King of England in the treaty of peace in the manner

de Portland, qu'il en écrirait au Roi par un courier exprès, et ce courier lui apporta promptement l'ordre d'accorder la conférence, et d'écouter ce qu'on lui voudrait dire. Elle se tint presque à la tête des gardes avancées de l'armée du Maréchal de Boufflers. Il y mena peu de suite, Portland encore moins, qui ne s'approchèrent point, et demeurèrent à cheval chacune de son côté. Le Maréchal et Portland s'avancèrent seuls, et à distance de n'être point entendus. Ils conférèrent ainsi debout, en se promenant quelques pas. Il y en eut trois de la sorte dans le mois de Juillet. La quatrième fut plus nombreuse en accompagnement; et les suites se mêlèrent et se parlèrent avec force civilités, comme ne doutant plus de la paix. A chaque conférence le Maréchal de Boufflers en rendait compte par un courier. La cinquième se tint au moulin de Zenich, entre les deux armées. Portland y fit présent de trois beaux chevaux anglais au Maréchal de Boufflers; d'un au Duc de Guiche, beau-frère du Maréchal; et d'un autre à Pracomtal, lieutenant-général, gendre de Montchevreuil, et extrêmement bien avec le Maréchal de Boufflers, qu'ils avaient suivi à cette conférence. La sixième fut extrêmement longue, et se tint dans une maison de Nôtre-Dame de Halle."

I was requested by making express mention of him, and that he ought to be satisfied with the engagement which I am ready to make, sincerely and in good faith, not to assist, directly or indirectly, the enemies of the Prince of Orange, without any exception, the Sieur de Bentinck became more pliant on this point than there was ground to expect, and told you positively that the Prince of Orange was very sensible of the pain which his request upon this point must give me; that he very willingly consented that the King of England should not be named, nor even designated in the treaty, but that, as his tranquillity and safety were concerned, he desired that, instead of naming the King of England, terms might be found which should give him entire security; that, for this purpose, he desired that I should promise and engage, by the treaty, not to favour or assist, directly or indirectly, without any exception or limitation, the enemies of the Prince of Orange, and likewise not to favour, in any way, the cabals, secret intrigues, factions and rebellions which may arise in England, the Prince of Orange engaging and promising to give me, by the treaty, the same assurances for the interior of my kingdom.

My intention is, that you shall answer to this proposal that this equality of condition cannot take place, and that the submission of my subjects, and the tranquillity of my kingdom, give me no reason to fear either faction or rebellion.

I have ordered you not to agree to this reciprocal condition, but to promise that I will engage

by the treaty not to assist, directly or indirectly, the enemies of the Prince of Orange, without any exception, engaging not to favour, in any manner whatsoever, the cabals, secret intrigues, factions, rebellions, &c., which may take place in England.

With regard to what the Sieur de Bentinck intimated to you, that the Prince of Orange hoped that, after peace was concluded, I would induce the King of England to resolve, of his own accord, to fix his residence out of my kingdom, if he does not speak again of this proposal in the conference which you are to have with him, do not touch upon it; but if he persists in questioning you about it, my intention is that you declare to him that the same reasons which have hindered me from listening to his proposals that I should speak positively of the King of England in the treaty, make me equally averse from entering into any engagements whatsoever upon this subject, either before or after the peace, and that it ought to be sufficient for the Prince of Orange that I give him all the assurances which he may otherwise require for his tranquillity.

With regard to what relates to the principality of Orange * * * * * *

After having explained what I have above stated to you respecting my intentions on the two points in question, it is my desire that you shall inform the Sieur de Bentinck that I again confirm the first assurances which you have given him from me, of my especial regard for the Prince of Orange, and of my conviction that Europe will long enjoy the

repose which peace will secure, when this repose shall be founded on the sincere and solid relations which I desire to establish with that Prince.

Though in my preceding letter I again told you that I wished that every thing relating to this particular negotiation with the Prince of Orange should be referred to the conferences at Ryswick, yet I order you to let M. de Bentinck know that you have received my answer, and that you are in haste to enter upon a conference with him.

I shall expect to hear from you with impatience; matters appear to me so far advanced that I have reason to believe that this negotiation will have a happy result.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Camp near Brussels, July 18. 1697.

The Earl of Portland has informed you, by the last courier, of the second conference which he has had with the Marquis de Boufflers. I send you an express, to learn your opinion in what way the article by which France should engage not to assist King James might be drawn up, without naming him, for it appears that on this the whole affair of the pacification chiefly depends. I do not know whether the ambassadors of the States have not already agreed to something on the subject with the ambassadors of France. In that case, we ought to keep to it; it would likewise be the most easy, for it is by them that the whole is to be settled.

The Earl of Portland will also write to you on the subject of these interviews, of which it is necessary you should inform, in my name, the ambassadors of Austria and others, so far as you shall deem needful.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Camp near Brussels, July 19. 1697.

I wrote to you yesterday, by the extraordinary courier, whom the Earl of Portland despatched to you, and to-day I received your letter of the 16th. I am quite of your opinion, that the engagement or promise to be made by France, not to assist any of my enemies, in the number of whom King James would be comprehended, should be reciprocal; but it will not be possible to bring the French so far, so that it will be above all things necessary to take care, in the wording of this article, that King James shall be comprehended in it, without being designated by name. Since it appears now that the French are seriously disposed to continue the negotiations, we must not lose an instant, but, as the proverb says, "Strike the iron while it is hot."

LOUIS XIV. TO MARSHAL BOUFFLERS.

Marly, July 19. 1697.

My Cousin,

I have received the letter which you wrote to me on the 17th of this month*, in which you inform me that M. de Bentinck has applied to you for a third conference, but that, as I had intimated to you, in one of my letters, that I wished you not to have any more interviews with him, you had thought best, after taking counsel with Marshal Villeroy, not to accept it, without, however, an absolute refusal. I cannot but commend your regularity; but, as you must now have received my orders by the letter which I wrote to you the day before yesterday, I have only to refer you to what you have therein seen of my intentions.

SIR JOSEPH WILLIAMSON† TO THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

Hague, July 9–19. 1697.

We find by the account the King has been pleased to send us of what passed between my Lord

* This letter of Marshal Boufflers has been suppressed, being only a repetition of what he wrote the same day to Marshal Villeroy.

† Sir Joseph Williamson was the son of a clergyman in Cumberland, and educated at Queen's College, Oxford. Soon after the restoration, he was recommended to the Earl of Arlington, principal secretary of state, who employed him in trans-

Portland and Marshal Boufflers, in the two interviews they had, that his Majesty, being made sensible of the great wrong done him every where, by the false and dishonourable insinuations of the French, as if he had not really an intention or design for peace (as that has been notoriously their business to spread abroad in all those countries these many weeks), did at once resolve, and (as all people here think) with great reason and wisdom, to push the thing to a point, and at once as to do himself right against so venomous a poison as they endeavoured to infuse into the world, by declaring his real desires for a peace; and his resolutions, if it could not be had, no longer to be amused with a pretended negotiation of it at Ryswick; so on the other hand to put it hard and plain upon France to discover how far all this pretence on their side is well and sincere; which is the very point all we, the ministers in this assembly, have been saying and wishing the thing might be at once brought to; and this step of the King's is the more reasonable, in

lating and writing memorials in French. From this humble situation Williamson elevated himself by his commanding merit to the greatest posts in the government. At the short treaty of Cologne, he was one of the British plenipotentiaries with the Earl of Sunderland. At his return, September 11. 1674, he was sworn principal secretary of state and a privy counsellor. He resigned his place, February, 1678, and was succeeded by the Earl of Sunderland. He had been knighted in 1677. About this time he married the sister and sole heiress of Charles Duke of Richmond, who brought Sir Joseph Williamson large possessions. William III. employed and confided in him. He died in 1701, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

that we are now come to the time (for to-morrow is the day) that the French are to give in their project for the peace they propose between them and the Emperor and the Empire. That is what we are now this evening going to say to the Imperial embassy, which has desired from us an account of what passed in these interviews.

MARSHAL BOUFFLERS TO LOUIS XIV.

Camp of Sainte-Renelle, July 21. 1697.

Sire,

According to the letter which your Majesty was pleased to do me the honour to write to me on the 17th, I sent the Sieur de Giey to M. de Bentinck to tell him that, if he were disposed to be, on the following day, the 20th, at four o'clock in the afternoon, at our usual rendezvous, I would be there likewise. After the usual compliments, we alighted. M. de Bentinck began by telling me that he had not failed to give an account, as was his duty, to the Prince of Orange of the assurances which I had given him on the part of your Majesty, in our second interview, of your Majesty's esteem for the Prince of Orange, of your favourable disposition towards him, and, lastly, of your sincere intention to conclude peace and inviolably to observe it when it should be concluded: that the Prince of Orange had commanded him to express to me on his part, that he had received the said assurances with all possible joy and sensibility, on account of the infinite value

which he attached to the esteem and friendship of your Majesty, of his sincere desire to obtain them, and of his feelings for your Majesty's person, for whom it was impossible to entertain too high a veneration or respect, considering your Majesty not only as the greatest sovereign in the world, but personally as the greatest man, on account of your rare and exalted qualities; requesting me, on the part of the Prince of Orange, to be so good as to testify this to your Majesty, and to assure you of the same. These are the expressions of M. de Bentinck, to which I have added nothing whatever; he further requested me, from the Prince of Orange, to renew to your Majesty the assurance of the sincerity and the uprightness of his intentions respecting the peace, and the exact observance of it, once more asserting that, after the peace was concluded, he should be as faithfully and constantly attached to the interests of your Majesty, as he had hitherto been opposed to them.

On this I stated to M. de Bentinck that I should have the honour of giving an exact account to your Majesty of all that he had just told me on the part of the Prince of Orange, and that I was convinced that you would receive all these expressions of regard with pleasure and satisfaction; and that meantime, after the account which I have had the honour to give your Majesty of what he had said to me in our second interview from the Prince of Orange for your Majesty, you had commanded me to repeat the first assurances which I had already given him of your special regard for the Prince of

Orange, and of the satisfaction with which your Majesty had received the said expressions of his regard.

M. de Bentinck having further added that he would not fail to make a faithful report to the Prince of Orange, told me by way of answer to what passed in our last conference, that, on the consent which the Prince of Orange had thought it reasonable to give, that King James should not be named or designated in the treaty, but that, instead of this, terms might be found which should give the Prince of Orange entire security, that, in concluding the peace, he shall enjoy for himself, his successors, and his dominions, entire and perfect tranquillity, he had caused the annexed article to be drawn up, that he might have the said securities, without naming or designating the King of England; that if your Majesty wished to change any thing in it, you might do so, if you should think proper, but that, for the most part, it was conceived in terms which are common and usual in all treaties.

I told him that this article appeared to me to be very prolix, and to contain many useless terms; that, after what he had stated in our second conference, that the Prince of Orange willingly consented that no mention should be made of the King of England in the treaty, provided that, besides the general terms "not to favour and assist, directly or indirectly, his enemies, without any exception," other expressions might be found which should give more particular assurances, such as,

" not to favour, directly or indirectly, the cabals, factions, secret intrigues, and rebellions which might take place in England," I had had the honour to give an account of it to your Majesty, who, to show the Prince of Orange the uprightness of your intentions, and the good faith with which you intend to conclude a peace, and strictly to observe it in every point, had ordered me to tell him (M. de Bentinck) that you will engage by the treaty not to assist, directly or indirectly, the enemies of the Prince of Orange, without any exception, and besides, not to favour, in any manner whatever, the cabals, secret intrigues, factions and rebellions which might take place in England; that it appeared to me that these expressions comprised generally all that was contained in his more detailed article, and that, as they were precisely the terms which, in our second conference, he had expressed his desire to have, it seemed to me that the Prince of Orange ought to be fully satisfied with them, inasmuch as they gave him all the securities which he desired, and could desire.

He said that this article, though more prolix than the said expressions, does not engage your Majesty to any thing more than what you mean, and intend to promise by the said expressions, that is to say, not to favour either cabals, secret intrigues, factions and rebellions, nor the persons who should excite and foment them; that, if your Majesty, without favouring the said cabals, secret intrigues, factions and rebellions, favoured per-

sonally, and tolerated in your dominions, the individual, or individuals who should be the authors of the said cabals, secret intrigues, factions and rebellions, and who, by their correspondence and private understandings in England, should excite and foment, from France, all the above cabals, &c. it would be, on the part of your Majesty, in some measure indirectly favouring the said cabals, secret intrigues, &c. &c., although you did not otherwise assist them with advice, or money, or in any other way whatsoever, and that therefore, to remove all cause of uneasiness and discontent, it was proper, besides the above expressions, to add, that your Majesty will not favour, directly or indirectly, the persons who might excite and foment the said factions, secret intrigues, &c., as expressed in the said article.

On my telling him that the word *person* or *persons* was a means to oblige your Majesty, in the sequel, to expel from your kingdom all the English who should be there, inasmuch as whenever there should be the slightest cabal or agitation in England, it would be a pretext for saying that such and such persons, who might be in France, were the authors of it, he replied, that we ought to have a better opinion of the Prince of Orange, and of his sincere and upright intentions for the maintenance of peace; that when he should acquaint your Majesty that he suspected some English individual or individuals in France, he would at the same time state the just reasons on which his suspicions were founded, such as intercepted letters,

acknowledged intercourse, and other proofs which would justify those suspicions, and the reasons that might be entertained, without attempting to make any imputations against those who should not be implicated; and that he consented, on his part, to comply with the same terms and expressions, though he was well aware that your Majesty had no need of similar precautions, in consequence of the submission and fidelity of your people, and their particular attachment to your person, which was not the case in England, as every body knew, and which obliged him to take greater precaution for the safety of his person and that of his dominions; and that he hoped your Majesty would be disposed to give him the strongest guaranties you could, without naming the King of England.

I told him that he could not place too much reliance on the uprightness and sincerity of your Majesty's intentions in all things, and that when you consented to engage not to favour, directly or indirectly, in any manner whatsoever, the cabals, secret intrigues, factions and rebellions which might arise in England, it was without any reserve or limitation whatever, and that this comprised every thing; that as for the offer which the Prince of Orange made, to promise and bind himself in the same manner, he had anticipated the real sentiments of your Majesty on the little necessity there existed for such a promise, your Majesty having commanded me not to agree to this reciprocal condition, because the submission of your subjects, and the tranquillity of your kingdom, gave

you no ground whatever to apprehend either faction or rebellion. He told me that the Prince of Orange was fully convinced of this, and that he had offered this reciprocity, merely to show that he would not make any request to which he would not equally bind himself.

To conclude, with respect to this article of the securities which the Prince of Orange required, on making no mention of the King of England, I told M. de Bentinck that I had nothing to add to the expressions which your Majesty prescribed to me for the said securities, to which you had been pleased to consent, to show that it is with good faith, and without any reserve or restriction, that you treat with the Prince of Orange, the said expressions comprising every thing; that I should have the honour to send your Majesty the article which he had given me, and would let him know the answer which I should receive. Upon this he told me that he should look for it, and that he ventured to hope your Majesty would consent to add the expression *person* or *persons*, which is absolutely necessary for the safety and tranquillity of the Prince of Orange and of his dominions; the more so, since adding this term *persons* is merely asking a rather more definite explanation of the real sentiments of your Majesty, inasmuch as it cannot be doubted that your Majesty, in engaging to assist neither directly or indirectly the enemies of the Prince of Orange, without any exception, and further engaging not to favour in any manner whatsoever the cabals, secret intrigues, factions,

and rebellions which may arise in England, means likewise not to favour, either directly or indirectly, the persons who may originate the said cabals, secret intrigues, factions and rebellions, in whatever place the said persons may be; that thus, by this more comprehensive term, your Majesty does not bind yourself to any thing beyond your real intentions, and, by this means, will give more ease and tranquillity to the Prince of Orange, who, on his part, will have no other desire or other care, than to give your Majesty entire satisfaction in all things; again repeating to me, that I might assure your Majesty that the Prince of Orange will not be behindhand in any thing that may tend to persuade and convince your Majesty of the sincerity of his intentions inviolably to observe the peace, and to render it stable and durable, and to do every thing that may be agreeable to your Majesty.

No mention was made on either side of what M. de Bentinck hinted at in our second conference, that the Prince of Orange hoped that, after peace was concluded, your Majesty would induce the King of England to determine, of his own accord, to fix his residence out of your Majesty's kingdom. There is therefore no appearance that this point will again be mooted.

As for what concerns the principality of Orange * * *

(ENCLOSURE.)

Article to be inserted in the Treaty of Peace.

"And to render the peace entirely firm and solid, the most Christian King promises and engages inviolably, for himself and his successors, to do nothing which may trouble or disturb the King of Great Britain in the right and possession of his lands, countries, kingdoms and governments; and consequently, that he will not assist, directly or indirectly, with arms, ammunitions, provisions, ships, money, or other things, by sea or by land, any person or persons, of whatever rank or condition they may be, who should be disposed to make any attempt against the said King of Great Britain, or incommode or trouble him in his lawful right, or possession, or invade his said lands, countries or kingdoms, or excite in them rebellions, troubles or seditions against his person, among his subjects or in his government, under any pretext or pretence that they might allege, without any exception or reserve; which the King of Great Britain, on his side, likewise promises and engages inviolably, for himself and his successors, the Kings of Great Britain, with respect to the most Christian King, his lands, countries and governments, reciprocally, in all points as above, without any exception or reserve whatsoever."

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Camp near Brussels, July 22. 1697.

I am not surprised that the French have postponed the period for the acceptance of their offers: for, to say the truth, it does not seem reasonable that they should be always obliged to put off, if we consider how long a time the negotiations have already

gone on, and how little inclination the Imperialists show to accept these offers. If, on the other hand, we consider their superiority, this step will not be found unreasonable on their part; and I do not believe that it can be compared with the arrogance which they formerly displayed. It is strange, that the mediator has not informed the Allies of it, for it cannot be doubted that the Ambassadors of France have communicated it to him. What does not at all please me is, that on the question which Mr. van Dyckvelt put to them, namely, what they intended in the event of the capture of Barcelona? their answer was, that they had no orders on that subject. This makes me fear that every thing is still very uncertain. The Ministers of Austria and Spain must now be urged to accept the conditions within the prescribed time, very short though I confess it to be. But perhaps it may be so much the better, because matters will be concluded so much sooner. I believe that it will be necessary to send orders to Lord Lexington and to Heemskerk*, to use the same solicitations at the Court of Vienna, and to declare that we can no longer continue the war.

* Ambassadors of Great Britain, and of the States-General to the Emperor.

WILLIAM III. TO THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

Camp near Brussels, July 12–22. 1697.

My Lord,

I can tell you news that will not be unpleasant to you—which is, that I believe peace is very near. As to particulars, you will learn them elsewhere; and in a short time I shall be able to write to you more fully on the subject. But when one has to do with the French, one can be sure of nothing till the affair is concluded. We must therefore prepare for war, as if we had no hope for peace.

SIR JOSEPH WILLIAMSON TO THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

Hague, July 23. 1697.

My Lord,

By my last, which was of the 9-19th instant, your Excellency will see the expectation we were in here of the project which the French had promised. Accordingly, the next day, at the conference at Ryswick, the mediator came into the assembly of the allies, and there delivered the project; adding, as from the French, that it was not indeed altogether in the exact form of a project, but that it wanted not much in form; and, as to the matter of it, it contained the substance of such articles as concerned three of the puissances in war; to wit, the Emperor and Empire, Spain, and this State; that there might possibly be found some

particulars wanting, and some expressions not so exactly weighed; but that whatever was wanting might be supplied, and whatever in the wording might be found amiss might easily be rectified; that, as to them, they were in great earnest, and most sincere in their desires of the peace, *afin d'être hors d'affaire;* and that the sooner it could be done the better. This was the substance of what the mediator reported, as said by the French upon their delivering him the project; after which he gave it into Count Kaunitz's hand, who, by the by, is observed on all such occasions to be the head of the assembly, and, as such, even to put himself forward, and to speak and be spoken to.

Yesterday, after the hours of devotion, the several parties sent their secretaries (as had been agreed the day before) to Count Kaunitz's house, and there took copies of it.* There has not been time yet to

* The principal conditions of this project were: —

The treaties of Munster and Nimeguen to form the basis of the peace in general.

All the re-unions made by the chambers of Metz and Besançon, and the council of Brisach, since the treaty of Nimeguen, to be restored to the Emperor. Strasburg to be ceded, in perpetuity, to France, in return for the cession of Friburg, Old Brisach, Philipsburg, and Kehl, with their dependencies; and the Rhine to form the boundary between France and the empire.

Lorraine to be restored to the Duke, as in 1670, on the condition that the fortifications of Nancy should be demolished, and a military passage through the duchy reserved to France.

Dinant to be restored to the Bishop of Liege, Treves to the Elector, and the Palatinate to the Elector Palatine.

understand what the several parties think of it; but, in the general, I perceive men think France has come nearer reason, in several points, than it was expected they would at this first step; and this is attributed to the seasonable and wise declaration his Majesty was pleased to make, by my Lord Portland, to Marshal Boufflers, which we find plainly, by the pulse of the world about us, has had a very good effect, and has turned to great advantage of his Majesty's honour and integrity in several respects.

LORD VILLIERS TO THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

Hague, July 23. 1697.

My Lord,

I am glad to tell your Grace that the French, according to their promise, gave in their project of peace to the allies last Saturday. You will find it to be on the foot of that of Nimeguen. I believe we shall not get better terms from them, and shall have difficulty enough to bring the Imperialists to accept of these; but I think their necessity must oblige them to take the measures which England and Holland prescribe to them. I have heard

All the re-unions dismembered from Spain to be relinquished, and all conquests, both in the Low Countries and Catalonia, to be restored, except Luxemburg, which was to be retained by France, in consideration of an equivalent. All captured colonies in America and the West Indies to revert to the rightful proprietors.

secretly that France designs suddenly to set a time for making the peace upon this project, or absolutely breaking off the negotiation. I must own this method is a little unmannerly, but it is the only one that can bring us to any conclusion in this tedious affair.

LOUIS XIV. TO MARSHAL BOUFFLERS.

Versailles, July 24. 1697.

My Cousin,

I have received the letter which you wrote to me on the 21st of this month, giving me an account of the conference which you had on the 20th with the Sieur de Bentinck. I have seen his statement of what he had orders from the Prince of Orange to tell you of the manner in which he had received the assurances which you had given him from me, of the esteem which I felt for him, adding that the said Prince of Orange ardently wished for the return of my good-will, even employing in the name of the said Prince of Orange, terms of veneration, respect and admiration of my person.

Though, at bottom, these can be considered only as words till they shall be confirmed by deeds, yet, as they call for reciprocal expressions on my part, it is my pleasure that you should renew to Sieur de Bentinck the assurances of the esteem which I entertain for his master, and that I really desire to give him marks of it as soon as the peace shall have restored the perfectly good understanding which I desire henceforward to establish with him,

and which I believe to be necessary for the welfare of Europe.

To return now to the two principal points which were the subject of your last conference, I begin by acknowledging the receipt of the memorandum which was given you by M. de Bentinck, touching the manner in which the Prince of Orange would wish me to express myself in the Treaty of Peace, so as to give him the securities which he affirms to be absolutely necessary for the tranquillity of England.

This draught of an article is much more prolix than the last proposal which he had made, and which I had approved. Without expressly naming the King of England, it is impossible to designate him more clearly than by the two words joined together, *person* or *persons*, which are there given, the first of which can be applied only to the King of England, and the second to the English who are with that Prince.

I see that the Sieur de Bentinck thought to soften them, by telling you that these terms merely contain a rather more detailed explanation of my real intentions; and, that it cannot be doubted that, when I am willing to engage not to favour, either directly or indirectly, the cabals and factions which may be formed in England, I likewise intend not to assist those by whom they may be originated.

My intention is, that you should explain to M. de Bentinck, that the assurances which I consent to give him, and the terms which I am willing to employ, ought to leave no doubt of the sincerity of my intentions; and that the ex-

planation which he requires can add nothing to the confidence which he ought to repose in my word. You will further observe to him, that I should always be pained to have it proposed to me to employ terms which could be applied to the King of England alone; that I had reason to believe that the Prince of Orange would be content with the expressions which M. de Bentinck himself had, at the last conference, proposed to have inserted in the treaty; that I had not expected that any stronger would be desired; that, however, I am willing to give him every satisfaction which depends upon me, without naming or designating the King of England; that, for this purpose, I consent to make use of the greater part of the terms of the article which he has given, and to extend it as far as possible; that the term *person*, in the singular, comprehends all those in general who may disturb the tranquillity of the Prince of Orange, and does not designate particularly the King of England.

I send you the draught of an article which I have caused to be drawn up, which provides in general for all cases that may disturb the Prince of Orange, and gives him the assurance which he requires, without designating the King of England in particular. I am persuaded that, if the intentions of the Prince of Orange are as sincere as I have particular reason to believe they are, the guarantees which I give him are sufficient to remove from him every cause of fear that I will favour enterprises which may be directed against his authority.

Though the submission of my subjects, and their zeal for my service, are ample pledges of their fidelity; yet, as I have thought that the engagement which the Prince of Orange would enter into, by the last clause of the proposed article which M. de Bentinck has given you, would lessen the first idea which the public might conceive, that the term *person* is to be applied solely to the King of England, I consent that you shall agree to this last clause, as you will see in the draught which I send you.

After having stated the manner which I should wish the article to be drawn up in the treaty, as all the good reasons which you may give to the Sieur de Bentinck to make the Prince of Orange consent, may perhaps not convince that Prince that he will find the same securities in the article drawn up, as I send it to you, and as all the conferences which you have had, instead of producing the furtherance of the peace, would serve only still more to delay it: I am willing, for these just considerations, to anticipate every thing which may lead your conferences to a happy conclusion, and to inform you of my intentions, which are, that you must forget nothing to oblige M. de Bentinck to give an account to the Prince of Orange of the draught which I send you; that if he should make any difficulty, as not finding it conformable with that which he has given you, you are to tell him that, as I evidently wish to know precisely the views of his master on this draught, it is proper that you should meet again, when he shall have informed

the Prince of Orange of this last conference; and for this purpose arrange another interview with him to receive his answer. If M. de Bentinck persists, in this new conference, in requiring that the words *person* or *persons* shall stand in the article, I permit you to insert the last term *persons* immediately after that of *person*, marked in Italics in the draught which I send you.

And, as the benefit of peace must not be delayed, when nothing more is in question than a change of a few expressions; and, as the Prince of Orange no longer requires that of "King of England," which was an invincible obstacle, it is my pleasure, in the last resort, that you shall agree to the proposal of M. de Bentinck, if you shall see that it is absolutely necessary to adhere to it, always avoiding, however, if it be possible, to employ the term "right" when the Prince of Orange is spoken of, and the expression "whatever designs may be alleged" prefaced to the draught of the said Sieur de Bentinck. At all events, I leave it to your prudence not to insist on these terms if you should see an equal necessity for conceding them. You are not to manifest any open repugnance towards them, but merely endeavour to oppose them. You will observe that it is only in the second conference that you are to make use of this expedient.

To return to the article concerning the principality of Orange, * * * * *

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Camp near Brussels, July 25. 1697.

I have read the draft of a treaty delivered to the mediator by the ambassadors of France. I have the same remarks as you to make upon it. I have still some hope that the principal articles might be adjusted to the satisfaction of the empire and of Spain; and that France would make reasonable concessions, if the ambassadors of Austria do not themselves interfere to spoil the negotiations by their perverse proceedings. I do not find this strange on the part of the Imperialists; for, whatever need they have of peace, they do not wish for it, and wait till they are compelled to accept it; but, with regard to the Spaniards, who so ardently desire it, and who are in such great embarrassment, this is inconceivable. I am of opinion, nevertheless, that they may be induced to accept, within the prescribed term, the conditions which have been offered. I will also bring the matter seriously before the Elector of Bavaria. But as for the Imperialists, we may depend upon it that they will do nothing; so that we must consider in what manner we must proceed with respect to them. Perhaps, if the conditions were agreed upon, the best thing would be to endeavour to obtain an armistice, which would serve at least to prevent the total ruin of this poor country.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY TO LORD VILLIERS.

Whitehall, July 16–26. 1697.

I hope my Lord Portland's interview will bring matters to a conclusion one way or other. If the French are in earnest for a peace, it will be very welcome; if they are not, it is necessary the world should see it, and particularly so with relation to his Majesty's affairs here, that people may not too long flatter themselves with such deluding expectations, but prepare to carry on the war; which, I am confident, when we set our minds to it, we shall be in a better condition to do than we were the last year, money growing much more plentiful in the country, and credit in town beginning now to recover.

WILLIAM III. TO THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

Dieren, August 17–27. 1697.

Affairs here are at a great crisis. Next Friday is the day fixed by the French for accepting their offer of peace, and by their conduct it appears as if they were desirous the term should elapse; as they pretend not to have been instructed with regard to the surrender of Barcelona, and other conditions of less importance, which concern the Spaniards, and without which peace cannot be concluded. The unfortunate loss of Barcelona, at this particular time, as well as the escape of Pointis, may perhaps be the cause of this extraordinary conduct on the part of the French, and may prevent the conclusion of the peace, which I thought certain.

MARSHAL BOUFFLERS TO LOUIS XIV.

Camp of Sainte-Renelle,
July 27. 1697.

Sire,

Having received, on the evening of the 25th, your Majesty's letter of the 24th of this month, in which you apprised me of your intentions with regard to the two articles which remain to be settled with the Prince of Orange, I sent M. de Giey, on the 26th at daybreak, to M. de Bentinck, to tell him that if he pleased to repair, on the same day, to our usual place of meeting, or to Halle, about four o'clock in the afternoon, I would be there also. M. de Bentinck having agreed, I repaired at about three o'clock to Halle, and having been informed by M. de Pracomtal, who had, as usual, proceeded to the village of Brucorn, that M. de Bentinck was already there with all his attendants, I thought that in order to respond to all his civilities, (having invariably received from M. de Bentinck, in all our other conferences, every mark of respect and deference,) I ought to go and meet him beyond Halle, which I accordingly did, and he appeared to be very sensible of this mark of attention, sending several times to request me not to take the trouble of advancing any further, for that he would come himself to meet me at Halle.

After having met on the road, and interchanged many civilities, we approached Halle; and, as I thought that we should be more at ease in the orchards, at the gates of Halle, than in the town, to avoid the confusion, and perhaps the tumult

which our suite might occasion, we alighted at the city gate, and, having withdrawn to a distance from every body, and again interchanged courtesies, I said to M. de Bentinck that I had had the honour of sending your Majesty the memorandum which he had given me, respecting the securities which the Prince of Orange required, in not naming the King of England in the treaty, and the manner in which this article should be expressed in the said treaty; that your Majesty had found it much more detailed than the proposal which M. de Bentinck had made in our second conference; that, without expressly naming the King of England, he could not be more clearly designated than he was in this article; that this was entirely contrary to the very positive and repeated assurances which he had given me, on the part of the Prince of Orange, to be communicated to your Majesty: viz., that the Prince of Orange was sensible of the repugnance which your Majesty must feel against naming the King of England in the treaty, or even to designate him; and that his intention was by no means to require any thing of your Majesty on this subject, or on any other, which might personally wound your Majesty's honour, or give you pain; that the other expressions, which your Majesty had approved, comprised all that was required in the said article; and that, above all things, entire confidence must be placed in the assurances which your Majesty gave of your sincere intentions to preserve the peace, without any reserve or restriction, in all that you promised.

Upon this he stated, that the Prince of Orange had likewise entire confidence in this; but, as treaties were made not for kings alone, but also for kingdoms and states, they could not be too clearly expressed; and therefore the Prince of Orange trusted that your Majesty would consent to grant him every reasonable security.

I told him that the Prince of Orange had great reason to believe it, and that your Majesty, to give him every satisfaction on that point which might depend on you, without naming or designating the King of England, was willing to make use of the greater part of the terms of the article which he had given me, and to extend it, as far as it was possible for your Majesty to do; after which no further difficulties ought to be raised.

Having then stated to M. de Bentinck the substance of your Majesty's article, as it is not possible, or, at least, very difficult to retain quite exactly all the terms, I told him that I had made a summary myself of what your Majesty could grant, and consented to grant; and I read to him, in fact, the article drawn up by my own hand.* After having listened to it very attentively, he said that though some terms still seemed to be desirable in it, yet he was satisfied with every thing that was expressed, and, knowing the intentions of the Prince of Orange in every thing that might be agreeable to your Majesty, he assured me that he would be satisfied with this article, which he

* See *infrà*.

asked me to give him. I told him that, as it was only a rough scrawl written by myself, it would be better that he should take a copy written in his own hand, and that, after our conference was over, we could enter the nearest house where he might write this copy, to which he consented.

After being perfectly agreed upon this point, I told him that, with regard to the principality of Orange, * * * * *

After we had agreed upon the two articles above mentioned, — respecting England and the principality of Orange,—and had tendered congratulations on seeing matters in so mutual a fair way to lead us to hope for a speedy peace, M. de Bentinck inquired what was now to be done in order to carry into effect the matters on which we had agreed, and to hasten the conclusion of peace, and whether the Prince of Orange should, in consequence of our convention above specified, take any steps before he heard from your Majesty respecting the account which I should have the honour to give you of our yesterday's conference.

I told him that, as the Prince of Orange had engaged, by all that he told me on his part for your Majesty in our first conference, to contribute in good faith, and with all his power, to the general peace—so soon as he should receive the satisfaction which he hoped for in respect of the matters which concerned himself personally—especially to induce the Emperor and the Spaniards to make peace, and that, if they refused to do so, he would

make peace with your Majesty, independently of them, for England and the States-General: that it was time, now that we had agreed on every thing which concerned him, to put into execution what he had promised; that I believed that the sooner this was done the better; that without making known to the plenipotentiaries of the allied Powers, or even to his own ministers and the plenipotentiaries of the States-General, the situation in which matters now stand between your Majesty and the Prince of Orange, the latter might issue his instructions to his ministers at the conferences at Ryswick, and to the plenipotentiaries of the States-General, to hasten and facilitate all things, as he had promised; and to smooth the difficulties which may still be unreasonably raised on the part of the allies in the explanation of the preliminaries, and at the same time employ his good offices with the said allies to bring them to reason, and give them to understand that, in our first conference, he (M. de Bentinck) had signified to me that the Prince of Orange wished for a speedy answer from your Majesty respecting the points of which he had spoken to me, in order to ascertain, as soon as possible, what he might expect from the conferences at Ryswick. I assured him likewise that your Majesty was at least as eager upon this point as the Prince of Orange, not only on account of the sincere intentions of your Majesty to procure, as soon as possible, peace and repose to Europe, but likewise, because after all the advances and advantageous offers which your

Majesty had made to the allies to attain this object, your glory would be affected by all the delays and difficulties which were interposed; and that therefore the sooner the Prince of Orange could on his part labour efficaciously for the immediate conclusion of peace, the better it would be; that I was assured that your Majesty would give the same instructions to your plenipotentiaries in regard to all that should be just and reasonable.

M. de Bentinck said that he would not fail to inform the Prince of Orange of all this, and that your Majesty might rest assured that he would devote himself to it with good faith and with all his power; but that he was obliged to use great circumspection for fear of giving the allies umbrage, and that they might not imagine that he wished to compel them to make peace by force and authority; that the Emperor, in particular, is the most obstinate, and makes most opposition, in consequence of the unreasonable spirit of one of his chief ministers at Vienna, whose name I have forgotten; that the Spaniards are more reasonable, and have entirely intrusted all their interests to the Prince of Orange, who may deal with them as he thinks best. To this M. de Bentinck added, that the Prince of Orange had seen the proposal for peace which the plenipotentiaries of your Majesty have delivered at the conferences; which proposal the Prince of Orange had found perfectly satisfactory and very equitable, saying that, if he had drawn it up himself, he could not have made it better for all parties; that above all, it is drawn up in terms of dignity, but very

conciliatory, which has not always been the case; and that this particularly had given grounds for complaint and estrangement to most of the plenipotentiaries and ministers of the allies, more especially to those of the Emperor; that the Prince of Orange had already pointed out to them the conciliatory terms in question, observing that they contained nothing but what was reasonable, and that it was very difficult to oppose good reasons brought forward with civility and without any offensive expression.

M. de Bentinck told me further, that the Prince of Orange apprehended that the plenipotentiaries of your Majesty were not disposed to give your Majesty so favourable a testimony as he deserves, not only of his good intentions respecting the general peace, but also of his private sentiments for your Majesty; that even the plenipotentiaries or ministers of the Prince of Orange at the conferences have some reason to be not entirely satisfied with the plenipotentiaries of your Majesty, who have received their memoirs, and have not yet given any answer, though they had given one to those of the other allies; that he does not know the reason of this, unless it be the jealousy which they have conceived of the conferences of M. de Bentinck and myself; that he knows further that they have attempted to decry them and to render them odious, having given several ministers of the allies to understand that in one of these conferences M. de Bentinck had told me that the Prince of Orange would make the allies do just what he pleased, and that he knew how they must be managed. M. de Bentinck

assured me that some of the ministers of the allies had spoken of it to the Prince of Orange.

After finishing our conference in the orchard where we were, M. de Bentinck and myself went into the nearest house in the suburbs of Halle, where he copied out with his own hand, word for word, the article which your Majesty did me the honour to address to me on what concerns England, which I dictated to him myself. He proposed that it should be written by my secretary, who presented him with paper and ink, desiring to excuse himself, on the ground that writing was inconvenient to him, as he had been formerly wounded in his right hand. But, on my observing that I thought it would be better that he should write it himself, he did so without difficulty, and when he had finished, we read it over together, to see if it exactly corresponded to the copy which I had myself taken from that of your Majesty, and which was found entirely to agree with it word for word. He repeated that there were, indeed, still a few terms which it might be desirable to insert in this paper, but that he was satisfied with the mode in which it was drawn up, and that the Prince of Orange relied much more on the good faith and sincerity of your Majesty's intentions, of which I had assured him, scrupulously to observe the peace, and all that might be agreed upon, and understood by this paper, than on all the terms which it contained, and all those which might have been added to it.

(ENCLOSURE.)

Draught of an Article given by Marshal de BOUFFLERS to M. de BENTINCK, July 27. 1697.

"The King will engage by the treaty, not to assist, directly or indirectly, the enemies of the Prince of Orange, without any exception; binding himself further not to favour, in any manner whatsoever, the cabals, secret intrigues, factions and rebellions which may occur in England, nor those who shall excite or foment them, without any exception of person."

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY TO SIR JOSEPH WILLIAMSON.

Whitehall, July 18–28. 1697.

It is plain the French have been unwilling to come to any immediate conclusion, expecting the success of the several projects they had on foot. I hope the event will dispose them to be more sincere hereafter in their intentions for a peace. However, it was certainly well advised to push them to a declaration; which, I perceive, was the end of my Lord Portland's interviews with Marshal Boufflers. Uncertainties may be dangerous to his Majesty's affairs abroad, and I am sure they are prejudicial to his interests at home.

If the war must be continued, it is time the thoughts of the nation were disposed to it, and that they did no longer flatter themselves with the deluding expectations of a peace, but turn their minds to support the war with vigour and resolu-

tion, which I am sure they are better able to do this year than they were the last; and I do not doubt but they will be as willing, when they see no other means left, to save all that they have been thus long contending for. No man alive could more sincerely rejoice than I should at a safe and honourable agreement; but if the enemy will give so much credit to the false accounts of their correspondents here, that it cannot be obtained, I hope they will find, though we wish a peace more than they, we do not want it so much.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Camp near Brussels, July 29. 1697.

The conduct of the ambassadors of Spain is incomprehensible, if we consider the instructions which they have received, and how necessary to them is a speedy peace. I trust that I shall be able to induce the Elector of Bavaria to send them positive orders. I yesterday plainly declared to Count d'Aversberg, who begged me to tell him what I thought, that we could no longer continue the war, and that peace must be accepted on the conditions offered, and within the term prescribed. He promised to write to the Court of Vienna on the subject by an extraordinary courier. He seemed not to have much objection to it, but complained bitterly of the harshness of the conditions respecting Lorraine.

EARL OF PORTLAND TO THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

July 19-29. 1697.

My Lord,

Lord Sunderland can give you an account of what I wrote to him concerning my interviews with Marshal Boufflers. At the last he dictated this article—that the King of France consents to have it inserted in the treaty, that, for the security of his Majesty, he will give no assistance to King James or to the Jacobites. There is no farther difficulty with regard to what concerns the King in particular. The King of France conveyed a solemn protestation that he was sincerely desirous of peace, after the King, our master, had caused the same profession to be made to him. A term is fixed at the Hague for its conclusion or rupture: we shall therefore soon have it, or know to whom we are to ascribe the blame of the failure.

I beg you not to render this article public.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY TO WILLIAM III.

Whitehall, July 20-30. 1697.

You will believe, Sire, the likelihood of a peace is welcome news to me, who, for above a twelvemonth, have thought it necessary for your service. In the countries where I have been, it is so much wished and expected, that if the enemies should not prove sincere in their intentions, it would be proper the people's minds were weaned from these

hopes, and disposed to contribute to the war, as well as their condition will permit. It is very happy, therefore, that the method your Majesty has put the negotiation into, has brought the business to such a point, that the event cannot long remain uncertain. I must confess the propositions which I have seen, made by the French, appear so near reason in all they mention, that I should think the agreement undoubted, if they have explained themselves fully and reasonably relating to what immediately concerns your Majesty and these kingdoms. The King of France having made conscience and glory his pretences for carrying on this war, and for supporting the interests of the late King, one would wish that such expressions might be used in the articles concerning that matter, as whether King James's name were mentioned or not, might yet be so strong and so particular, that he should have no excuse to renew the one or assist the other, without plainly forfeiting his word and breaking his engagements, which no reasonable man will be persuaded ought to be done upon a motive of honour and conscience.

LOUIS XIV. TO MARSHAL BOUFFLERS.

Versailles, July 30. 1697.

My Cousin,

I have received the letter which you wrote to me on the 27th. You made a very proper reply to M. de Bentinck's intimation, that the Prince

of Orange hoped that, after the lapse of some years, I should waive the execution of the secret promise which I desire from the Prince of Orange, that no person shall settle in the city of Orange without my permission, and that I will allow such of my subjects as have left my kingdom to settle there, but always with the reserve that the settlement of the said subjects be not disagreeable to me; and, if he should again speak to you on the same subject, I desire you to answer in the same terms.

I see that M. de Bentinck has asked you what steps I thought his master ought to take to hasten the negotiations for peace; but, as the Prince of Orange knows better than any body the temper of his allies, the conduct which he ought to observe towards them, and the steps which will be best calculated to induce them to peace, you are to give M. de Bentinck to understand, that I leave it to his master to take such steps as he shall deem necessary for ensuring success, observing, "that I am persuaded the Prince of Orange will know how to profit by the confidence which the Spaniards have in him, to induce the Emperor, notwithstanding the opposition and the ill-will of the Count de Kinsky, and all the allies, to concur in the general re-establishment of the tranquillity of Europe."

In reply to the complaints which M. de Bentinck has made of my plenipotentiaries at Ryswick; in the first place, that though all the allies had received answers to the proposals which they had delivered to my ministers, yet no answer had yet

been returned to the proposal presented by the ministers of the Prince of Orange; secondly, that they have attempted to decry the conferences which he has had with you;—you must state that the Prince of Orange must not complain that my plenipotentiaries have not answered his ministers in writing, well knowing that I have always declared that I would not engage to treat directly with him, till all the other articles of the peace were agreed upon, to which he himself consented; and that for this reason, his proposals have been communicated to my plenipotentiaries by the ambassadors of the States-General, and not by the English who were present at the conferences at Ryswick.

With regard to the second subject of complaint, where he alleges that my plenipotentiaries have endeavoured to cast odium on the conferences which you have had together, I am willing, for your private information, to tell you, that, as it was still very uncertain that the intentions of the Prince of Orange were as sincere as they now appear to be, and as you had not been required to observe secrecy on what had passed in the first conference, I had left it to my plenipotentiaries to make such use of it as they should think proper to those who were well disposed to peace, in order to advance the negotiation. But you are to answer to M. de Bentinck, that it is enough that I am assured of the good intentions of the Prince of Orange, and that he will see that the language and the conduct of my plenipotentiaries will henceforth be conforma-

ble with the good opinion which I have of him, and will efface the impressions which they may have made.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Camp near Brussels, August 1. 1697.

The Earl of Portland sends you a copy of the instructions, which the Elector of Bavaria will transmit, to-morrow, to the ambassadors of Spain, that you may regulate your conduct accordingly. The Earl of Portland is to have another conference to-morrow with the Marquis de Boufflers, of which he intends to communicate the result to you, on Sunday evening, at the Hague. I shall acquaint him, at the same time, with my opinion of the whole affair, because I do not think it advisable that you should be absent from the Hague at present, otherwise I would have invited you to come to me at Breda.

MARSHAL BOUFFLERS TO LOUIS XIV.

Camp of Weissen, August 3. 1697.

Sire,

The letter with which your Majesty has been pleased to honour me, under date of the 30th of last month, having been delivered to me on the 31st, in the evening, I sent a trumpeter, on the 1st of August, to Sieur Giey, desiring him to go

from me to M. de Bentinck and tell him, that if it was agreeable to him to go next day, the 2d of this month, at four o'clock in the afternoon, to the village of Coppegheim, midway between Asek and the camp of the allies, I would be there also at the same time. The Sieur de Giey having informed me yesterday morning that M. de Bentinck would not fail to be at the said place, at the hour appointed, I took care to be there also.

M. de Bentinck being at the rendezvous at the hour agreed upon, we saluted each other, and, after having alighted, I told him that, in consequence of the hopes he had expressed soon to receive news from me on the subject of our last conference, and of the instructions which your Majesty had sent to your plenipotentiaries to hasten the conclusion of the pending affairs, I was very glad to see him, in order to communicate to him the answer with which your Majesty has honoured me; that on receiving the account which I had the honour to give your Majesty of what passed in the said conference, of the manner in which the Prince of Orange promised to give his secret word respecting Orange, consenting to every thing your Majesty desired, as well on this article as on that of the securities to be given to the Prince of Orange, without naming the King of England, according to the article, of which the said Sieur de Bentinck had himself taken a copy; your Majesty had commanded me to express, on your part, to the said M. de Bentinck the satisfaction with which you received these assurances, and the testi-

monies of the sentiments of the Prince of Orange towards your Majesty, as well as the sincere intentions of that Prince for the speedy conclusion of peace; that your Majesty had besides ordered me to repeat the assurances of the high esteem of your Majesty for the Prince of Orange, of which he should receive marks, so soon as the peace would permit you to give them; that with respect to what the said Sieur de Bentinck had stated in our last conference, that the Prince of Orange, before taking any step to put into execution the measures on which we had agreed for the speedy conclusion of peace, would be glad to hear from your Majesty on that subject, your Majesty ordered me to tell him (M. de Bentinck) that you were very sensible of this deference to your opinion on the part of the Prince of Orange, but that, as that Prince was better acquainted than any body with the temper of his allies, the conduct which he ought to observe towards them, and the steps best calculated to induce them to a speedy conclusion of peace, your Majesty left it to the Prince of Orange to take such as he should deem necessary to ensure success; your Majesty, not doubting that he will profit by the confidence which the Spaniards have in him, to induce the Emperor, notwithstanding the opposition and ill-will of Count de Kinski, and all the allies, to concur in the restoration of general peace in Europe.

M. de Bentinck, after listening very attentively, without once interrupting me, said that he would not fail to give an exact account to the Prince of

Orange of all I had just said, and that he would undoubtedly receive with great pleasure and sensibility the renewed assurances I had just given him of your Majesty's personal esteem, and all the favourable sentiments of your Majesty; that he could only repeat the same things he had already said several times on the part of the Prince of Orange; that your Majesty could not be too fully persuaded of the sincere desire of the Prince to respond to every thing that your Majesty can either expect or desire of him; that he will not be behindhand in any point; and that, in a word, he will exceed, if possible, rather than fall short (these are his own words); that in regard to your Majesty's leaving it to the Prince of Orange to take such steps with the allies as he should judge best calculated to induce them to a speedy conclusion of peace, in consequence of what I had stated in our last conference, that the Prince of Orange, without waiting for intelligence from your Majesty, might, in conformity with our last arrangement, send his instructions to his ministers at the conferences, to act with the ministers of the allies, and do whatever he should think best calculated to promote the general peace—the Prince of Orange had, on the day following our last interview, despatched a courier to the Hague to his ministers and the plenipotentiaries of the States-General, to order them to examine all the expedients which might facilitate and accelerate the conclusion of peace; that he had also himself spoken to the ministers of Spain at Brussels, and to the Elector of Bavaria, to incline them likewise to adopt

the same resolve; that the ministers of Spain have agreed and promised to accept it, according to the proposal which has been delivered by the plenipotentiaries of your Majesty, but that, as the equivalent for Luxembourg is left blank in the project, and a considerable time must elapse from the day when the said equivalent shall be fixed and declared at the conferences,—that an account may be sent to the King of Spain at Madrid, and to receive his answer on the choice of the said equivalent or of Luxembourg,—it would be advisable that the plenipotentiaries of your Majesty should declare the said equivalent as soon as possible; that meanwhile, in order not to delay the conclusion of peace, the Prince of Orange would do all in his power to induce the Spaniards to sign it, without waiting for the answer from Spain respecting the said equivalent, it being agreed on both sides, that if it should appear by the answer of the King of Spain that his Catholic Majesty prefers the equivalent, both the city and duchy of Luxembourg, and the county of Chiny and its dependencies, shall remain to your Majesty, as stated in the draft of the treaty, and the equivalent shall be delivered to the King of Spain. If, however, on the contrary, the King of Spain prefers the city and duchy of Luxembourg and the county of Chiny, they shall be delivered to his Catholic Majesty, and the said equivalent shall remain in the possession of your Majesty; but that the point upon which it is absolutely necessary that the plenipotentiaries of your Majesty should declare your intentions, before the

conclusion and signing of the peace, is that which concerns Barcelona, in case it should be taken, for it is impossible to induce the Spaniards to make peace till your Majesty shall have restored to them that city, as well as all the rest of your conquests in Catalonia; that, as your Majesty has been pleased to give a greater proof of the sincerity of your intentions respecting peace, by ceding Ath, though conquered since the opening of the conferences, it is hoped that, on the same principle, and to secure the tranquillity of Europe, your Majesty will likewise be pleased to give up Barcelona, in the event of its being reduced to your authority. This is a matter of which it is absolutely necessary to be assured, before the Spaniards will consent to peace; that therefore your Majesty wishing, as you have declared, that it may be speedily concluded, it is advisable that, as soon as possible, you should send instructions to your plenipotentiaries respecting Barcelona, so that nothing may occasion delay in that quarter, as well as respecting the equivalent for Luxembourg.

To all this I replied to M. de Bentinck, that I should have the honour to report to your Majesty, and that you might then, if you thought proper, send your instructions on these various points to your plenipotentiaries, and inform them of your intentions. Hereupon M. de Bentinck stated, that this was all the Prince of Orange desired, but that the sooner it could be done the better, for the speedy conclusion of peace.

To return to M. de Bentinck's conversation.

After having pointed out to me how necessary it was, in order to hasten the conclusion of peace, that your Majesty should be pleased to acquaint your plenipotentiaries with your intentions on all these points as speedily as possible, he told me that the Prince of Orange, the better to prove the sincerity of his desires for the conclusion of peace, had resolved to go to Loo, that he might be nearer the seat of the conferences, and be able, more quickly, to solve the difficulties which might arise there; that he was preparing to set out for that place this very day, the 3d of August, unless something new should occur which should oblige him to delay; that he saw, with much pain, the armies of your Majesty completely eating up and devouring the only country remaining to the Spaniards in this quarter; that he daily received complaints from private persons of the losses and damage which they sustained; that the Elector of Bavaria and the ministers of Spain represented to him that it was very hard upon them, and very lamentable, at a time when the Spaniards accepted the peace, to be eaten up and completely ruined, solely for the good of others; that at least, if the armies of your Majesty would retire into the country which your Majesty is willing to restore, in order to subsist there during the remainder of the campaign, it would be less hard upon them than to see the armies of your Majesty at their very doors, and be unable to leave home; that it would even be an act of wisdom to conclude a truce or a suspension of arms, since it was sincerely agreed upon to make

peace; that the Spaniards, as well as the Prince of Orange and the States-General, would gladly agree to this; and that, if I would represent the case to your Majesty, it could not fail to have a good effect, and dispose the minds of all parties still more to a speedy conclusion of peace.

I told him that this proposal for a suspension of arms was more out of my line than any thing else; that I was less acquainted with the best means of making your Majesty's armies retire from the place where they are at present, than of making peace and signing it; that therefore I could not in any wise take it upon myself to write on the subject to your Majesty; but that they might speak of it, if they thought proper, to your Majesty's plenipotentiaries at Ryswick, who might have the honour of reporting to your Majesty.

I forgot to tell your Majesty that M. de Bentinck has said nothing positive to me about the Emperor in regard to the peace, except that the Prince of Orange has already caused his plenipotentiaries to be spoken to, giving them to understand that all the conditions which your Majesty accedes to for the general peace, being very just and reasonable, it would not be equitable that, through unwillingness to make peace without the Emperor, or abandon him, the allies, and all Europe, should remain exposed to the troubles and sufferings of war for his special interest; and, therefore, he could not reasonably refuse to acquiesce, like all the other allies, in the just offers of your Majesty, and that

the Prince of Orange hoped he should induce him to do so.

M. de Bentinck has not said any thing to me about the short term of six weeks, which your Majesty's plenipotentiaries have granted for accepting the proposal for peace which they have made, and it seems to me, from the tenor of all M. de Bentinck says, and from the conduct of the Prince of Orange, that that Prince will neglect nothing practicable for the speedy conclusion of peace.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY TO WILLIAM III.

Whitehall, $\frac{\text{July 27.}}{\text{August 6.}}$ 1697.

Sire,

I received, by the last post, a letter from my Lord Portland, which gave me great satisfaction to understand the peace was in all probability so near a conclusion. In my answer to him this night I have taken the liberty to write my thoughts on the article dictated by Marshal Boufflers, that I wished your Majesty were called William the Third, King of Great Britain, to avoid any cavilling interpretations hereafter. In this, I since perceive my Lord Chancellor and Lord Chamberlain agree with me. I also hinted something of King James's removing farther from England, which I remember was formerly in your Majesty's intentions. But what occasions this trouble is from another remark, in the same article, which I think

proper to be trusted to no other but yourself, that, if it proceeds from inadvertence, it may be mended; if from another reason, it may be buried in your Majesty's breast, as I am sure my having taken notice of it shall eternally be in mine. What I mean is, that in the article your Majesty engages for yourself, and successors, to live in peace with the King of France; and he engages for himself, and successors, to do the like to your Majesty; but neither your Majesty, nor the King of France, is bound by this article, as now penned, to live in peace with the successors of each other. What I have said I hope is sufficient to make my meaning intelligible.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Whitehall, $\frac{\text{July 27.}}{\text{August 6.}}$ 1697.

My Lord,

I have received your Lordship's of the 19th–29th, with the enclosed article dictated by Marshal Boufflers, by which I perceive the matters in dispute between the King, our master, and the King of France, are in great measure adjusted. I hope the allies, some way or other, will be prevailed with to be reasonable on their parts; and when they consider what a share of the expense England and Holland bear in the war, allow them to be the best judges when it is time to put an end to it. The article seems very

strongly worded to prevent the King of France fomenting any private rebellions, as well as assisting in any open invasion of these kingdoms; and the words "*that he will not disturb the King of Great Britain in the possession of his kingdoms*," &c. can only relate to our present King. Yet since, out of decency, they make a difficulty to name King James, in which, impartially speaking, they appear to have reason, I see no objection why they might not name the King by name, William the Third, King of Great Britain; as it would more unquestionably take away any unreasonable cavil that might hereafter be made, that, by the King of Great Britain, King James was only meant. I mention this as my present private thought, and in which it is very probable there may be little weight, but that you allow me to write with the freedom of a friend, as well as an humble servant.

I must farther observe, that there is no care taken in this article to remove King James to some farther distance than Paris. I imagine the King of France will not think it proper or decent for himself, that he should live at St. Germains, or in that neighbourhood, whilst our King has an ambassador at the French Court: but I am sure it would be of very dangerous consequence to the King's affairs here, that King James should be permitted to live in any place so near these kingdoms, that letters and messages might frequently pass, and that persons of consideration might have pretences of going, where they would have opportunity of discoursing with him, without its being

visible that was their errand. To be convinced of the consequence of this, one needs but reflect on the advantage the present king, when Prince of Orange, made of such a free intercourse as was then between London and the Hague.

Since I have written thus far of my letter, I have discoursed with my Lord Chancellor and Lord Chamberlain * upon the article your Lordship enclosed; and they both are of opinion that the mentioning the King by name, William the Third, King of Great Britain, is of consequence for preventing future cavils.

LOUIS XIV. TO MARSHAL BOUFFLERS.

Marly, August 6. 1697.

My Cousin,

I have received the letter which you wrote to me on the 3d of this month, giving me an account of the conference which you had, on the 2d of August, with M. de Bentinck at the village of Coppegheim. I am very glad to see the manner in which you have executed the orders which I gave you, referring to the explanations which my plenipotentiaries at the Hague shall give respecting my future intentions. You have conducted yourself on this occasion as I could wish, and I shall now inform them what are the resolutions which I have taken, in regard to what M. de Bentinck told you, "that

* Lord Somers and the Earl of Sunderland.

it would be necessary for the speedy conclusion of peace, that the allies should be informed of the use that I intend to make of Barcelona, and of the equivalent which I intend to offer to the King of Spain for Luxemburg."

Meanwhile I will tell you, for your satisfaction, that with respect to Barcelona, I instruct my plenipotentiaries to declare, that I cannot decide what I shall do with a place which I have not yet taken, and must wait till it is subject to my authority. With respect to the equivalent for Luxemburg, it is not for me to propose it to the King of Spain, and it is agreed, on the contrary, with his ministers, that he shall propose the equivalent to me, and that I shall have the choice.

As I am persuaded that, after what you have said to M. de Bentinck, with regard to his proposal for a suspension of arms, it will be likewise made to my plenipotentiaries; I instruct them beforehand, that, as nothing is more calculated to determine the allies to peace than the situation of my armies, and the posts which they occupy in the Spanish Netherlands, by the murmurs which their presence excites among the people, I do not mean to withdraw them till the treaty of peace is signed and ratified by Spain, or at least by England and Holland, if the ministers of Spain represent that too much time would be lost by waiting for the ratification from Madrid, on condition that the Prince of Orange shall engage to abandon the Catholic King if he refuses to send his ratification.

I have communicated my intentions to my ple-

nipotentiaries respecting what M. de Bentinck said, that it would be desirable that they should behave with less reserve to the ministers of the allies. With respect to those of the Prince of Orange, it is a matter which is not practicable, it having been arranged that I shall not acknowledge him as King of England till all the articles of the peace shall be agreed on, and every thing concerning the allies be settled.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Loo, August 9. 1697.

As it is impossible to write every thing in an affair so complicated, and of such great importance, I must request you to take the trouble of coming hither. Time presses exceedingly, and I am absolutely of opinion that the peace must be signed in the course of this month; or at least, that the terms offered must be accepted. Otherwise we shall be again thrown into extreme embarrassment, for which there will be no remedy. Hence there is not a moment to be lost.

SIR JOSEPH WILLIAMSON TO THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

Hague, August 9. 1697.

My Lord,

Since my last, which was of the 6th, we find plainly how little the world have expected so great

an advance on the matter of the peace as hath happily followed upon my Lord Portland's conferring with Marshal Boufflers; and, indeed, how little some of them desire it. The Emperor and Empire appear infinitely concerned at the likelihood there is, that the proposition from France for equivalents to be accepted for Strasburg and Luxemburg, should take place: not but that, secretly, the Emperor is more than willing that it should proceed as to the first, the equivalents for that being such places as would fall into the Emperor's own hands. And, therefore, we find these last days, that the great cry is turned upon the other, that is upon Luxemburg; which is alleged by all those of the Empire, to be of that full consequence to them, that if it should, for any consideration, be left in the hands of the French, they were undone; lost wholly in their liberty and safety; and that they must in that case be necessitated to seek it from France alone. This has been strongly exaggerated to us by the Imperial embassy yesterday, and this afternoon we are told we shall have a little attack from the body of the ministers of the empire, with desire to have their representations transmitted to his Majesty for his farther consideration, as a thing which they look upon to be of the last consideration and importance to them.

As to our business, the French ambassadors have not yet received from Court what they are to return as an answer to our project, but expect it daily; though they do beforehand speak of it to the ambassadors of this State who deal for us, that

they look upon it as a thing that can have no great difficulty in it. Something they speak as to the point of the pension, or yearly sum settled heretofore on the late King James's Queen, which they do not well know how it stands in fact, and therefore are not distinct nor clear in what they would propose as to that matter.

The answer of the Emperor and Empire to the French project, was given in by the ministers on Tuesday morning, but is of that length, that the French were not able to give any distinct answer to it on Wednesday, at the conferences at Ryswick, only they gave the allies to understand by the mediator, that the King, their master, was very sincere in his desires for peace; and that the time pressed extremely to finish it; that, as to the point of Alsace, and the ten towns, it was a thing long since settled, and could not be admitted to be spoken of in this place. And as to the term for accepting of the conditions, the mediator gave us to understand, that the French look upon it that they have sufficiently made the declaration of it, so as that it will be taken by them as the time beyond which they will no longer be bound to the same conditions.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY TO LORD VILLIERS.

Whitehall, $\frac{\text{July 30.}}{\text{August 9.}}$ 1697.

After eight years' war one may be allowed to own peace would be welcome; and I think it is

brought to a pass, that it cannot, it must not fail; for as it will be counted one of the greatest actions of his Majesty's life to have settled that in a fortnight, by a method of his own, which he saw could not have been concluded in many months at Ryswick; so, if this agreement should now break off, he will have introduced a separate way of treating, which may prove infinitely hazardous to his own interest if the precedent shall be followed by other princes; since all the allies, I doubt, are not so well to be trusted upon the honour of their words, as they have had experience he is.

EARL OF PORTLAND TO THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

Loo, August 2–12. 1697.

My Lord,

I am very glad that you approve the article which I sent you. It is as strongly expressed as could be expected; and, as to what regards the future tranquillity of England, it remains to be considered, whether it would not be better that this expression should have a general bearing; namely, "*to aid no one without exception or reserve;*" or, whether, if King James should be therein named, (he being old and not likely to live long, but as a pretended Prince of Wales may live long,) it is certain that he is included in that general period. Your remark that the King of Great Britain is not mentioned by name would be well founded if that article were to be secret or separate; but as it is to

be inserted in the general treaty, at the head of which the King is entitled William III., &c. &c., and as it is not customary to repeat the name at length in each article of a treaty, I think you will be of my opinion, that this cannot be otherwise than as it is.

Of the necessity that King James should retire from France, I have spoken very urgently, even from the first interview. But the answer of Marshal Boufflers was, that as this could not be stipulated without naming him, it was not to be expected that the King of France would accede. Upon which I told him, that, in consideration of the King, his master, this stipulation should not be demanded; but I declared that the King, my master, expected the same regard should be paid to him, and that they should cause King James to depart as soon as a peace should be concluded, without the appearance that the King of France was obliged to adopt this measure. And if this were not done, it must be concluded we cared not for the duration of peace; since the King, my master, could never suffer King James to be so near England, as this would foment cabals, which the King of France promised by this article not to countenance. I even desired him to state this very positively in writing.

He has since spoken to me of it, adverting to the place whither he might be sent, and even mentioning Avignon as the fittest for his residence. Hence I doubt not he will be removed from Paris, if France is sincere for peace. You will, doubtless, agree with me, that as it was necessary to

conciliate France, I ought not to expose myself to a decided refusal, unless I were able to maintain the point; and that it was better to take the thing as verbally granted, when I could obtain no more.

Respecting the point on which you have written to the King, it is true that this article, separately considered, has no relation to the successors; but it is still to be remembered, that, at the head of the treaty, when the Kings are named, it is also mentioned that they conclude this peace for themselves, and for their successors, according to the contents of the present treaty. I beg you to consider that this article was sent from France; that Marshal Boufflers could not alter a word; and that, in the existing state of things, I was glad to have it as it is; yet I have spoken of it to the Pensionary, who was here yesterday; and if he can, he will endeavour to insert in the draught of the treaty now pending the word successors in the article itself.

I am much obliged to you for having done me the honour to transmit me your opinion with that frankness which I beg you will continue, and I assure you that you cannot practise it towards a man more devoted to your service; but I also request you to consider the difficulty which I had in negotiating any thing, when there is such risk in speaking positively, and yet when no weakness should be shown.

SIR JOSEPH WILLIAMSON TO THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

Hague, August 3–13. 1697.

My Lord,

The dissatisfaction of our German allies at the equivalents proposed for Strasburg and Luxemburg must be allowed to vent itself; and we take care what we can, to manage their heats and vehemence in these matters, ever and anon reminding them how far their past performances are from giving us and the alliance any hopes of mending our case by continuing the war; and, therefore, on all sides, and most especially on that of the Empire, it is become necessary to think of a peace. These reflections we find plainly do make the proper impressions: only a little patience must be had, till these ministers (who delight in long dispatches) may have shown their masters what zeal and eloquence they have employed on this occasion. But, after all, the thing will be done; and, indeed, the French press us every day more warmly to do it within the month, which is the term they insist they had declared to the mediator at the first, as the peremptory term, within which the allies must take or leave the French offers.

SIR J. WILLIAMSON TO THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

Hague, August 6–16. 1697.

My Lord,

We see plainly that now the Imperialists, thus finding there will be a peace, and that the principal parties seem agreed to hasten it all that is possible, conclude it to no purpose longer to use any arts (as it is not unlikely but hitherto they have done) to delay it; and, therefore, have given into this way of personal conferences with the French at Ryswick, which is what they peremptorily refused to agree to some weeks ago. And, as the points themselves, in which they have any considerable interest to be different, we think they will all be reduced to that one of the equivalent for Luxemburg, (for, as to that of Strasburg, plain it is, that they must rather wish an equivalent should be taken, though they dare not say so:) and, as to that of Luxemburg, the opposition of the Princes of the Empire continues very high; though we find daily that they are more tractable in it, and, in a manner, prepared, when they have done and said what they can, to yield to the necessity of the conjecture. All that we have to say in it is, to convince them, that, whatever the King (our master's) mind is, in this, or indeed, in whatever else can come in question, relating to the general and common interest of the alliance, in what part soever of Europe the thing lies, upon which the question arises, it cannot be suspected

to be grounded upon any other consideration than what is best and most conducing to the preservation of the peace and liberties of Europe, from the ambitious designs of the common enemy. And that, in this point of Luxemburg especially, his Majesty, as head of this state, ought to be considered as most concerned, and, consequently, the most proper judge of the reasons for, or against, the equivalent in question. And these representations, with a little patience, will, we hope, qualify that mighty heat this matter at first raised in them.

We are now arguing with the French about the rest of our articles, in which nothing appears of much difficulty . . . . As to the late King James's Queen's jointure, which the French stick hard upon to be made good, it is a point of that delicacy, that we are not willing hitherto to entertain it, as any matter of our present business . . . .

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Loo, August 17. 1697.

I see with pleasure that the negotiations for peace begin to make some progress : I hope that they will soon be happily terminated. I rejoice extremely to learn that the French have yielded on the point of the contributions which were in arrears in the Spanish Netherlands, for I pity the poor inhabitants who have lost so much by the war. I do not doubt that the French will consent to an armistice, when once they shall have agreed

on the terms with Spain, Holland, and England, which I hope will shortly take place. I know that Quiros received from Spain, by the last courier, secret and positive instructions to conclude *quovis modo* with the first of the allies who should be disposed to make peace. As for the Imperialists, I see no other expedient for them than to obtain a prolongation of the prescribed term.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Loo, August 19. 1697.

I am vexed to see the chicanery which the French exhibit in regard to the treaty with Spain. I the more regret this delay in the negotiations, because the end of the month is approaching. I do not see that the villages of the lordship of Ath can be ceded; and it is insupportable that they will not terminate the question of the eighty-two villages of the environs. As for the equivalent for Luxemburg, I am of opinion that the proposal should be absolutely made to the French by the ambassadors of Spain, or by those of the States; for if it was a question only of four towns, I should prefer it to Luxemburg, and I believe it would likewise be preferred in Spain. As for the protest of the Imperialists, it does not deserve that much attention should be paid to it; but I see with pain, that the points in dispute between them and the French are so numerous, and so important, that they cannot be reconciled, unless the Imperialists entirely give way.

LORD VILLIERS TO THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

Hague, August 20. 1697.

My Lord,

The Imperialists have had a particular conference with the French, the mediator being present. They went through the whole project, but concluded on no one point but that of Philipsburg, which could not admit of a dispute. The Spaniards have likewise been in conference with the French: the Dutch ministers assisted, with the mediator, towards the making these two parties agree, which I believe will be done without much difficulty. I wish I could say as much of the Imperialists, who, I find, are resolved to be forced: I hope to see that quickly put in execution; though, indeed, the news of Barcelona and Pointis comes very untimely.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Loo, August 25. 1697.

I have duly received your letters of the 21st and 23d of this month; and though they do not require an answer, I cannot refrain from communicating my anxiety to you. I fear, lest the French, after these two important successes, the taking of Barcelona, and the sally from Pointis, should intend to let the term expire, which they have themselves fixed, for the acceptance of their offers, in order to have their hands free afterwards,

and to be able to treat as they think fit; for I do not conceive why, after having themselves fixed the term, they are not ready to conclude on all the points, since the term expires on Friday next. To hesitate whether they shall restore Barcelona or not, knowing as they do that, without that the peace cannot be concluded, is a clear proof that they have some design: either to let the time prescribed expire, or to exact from the Spaniards, for the restoration of Barcelona, conditions which are inadmissible. I confess to you that I am extremely uneasy: I expect with impatience the news which next Tuesday's mail will bring from France: there are only three days left to treat within the prescribed term.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Dieren, August 28. 1697.

The letter, which I have received this afternoon from the Pensionary, does not, by any means, please me, seeing the negotiation in the state in which it is. I have nothing to add to the instructions which I gave you last night. God grant that the peace may be signed on Saturday, otherwise I foresee fatal embarrassments. With regard to Hudson's Bay, respecting which the Pensionary has written to me, you know the instructions which I have given you, that this must not prevent the conclusion of peace. I am in great uneasiness at seeing in what a crisis all the affairs of Europe are placed.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Dieren, August 29. 1697, nine o'clock in the evening.

I spoke this morning with Count d'Aversberg, and, as far as I was able to gather from him, the Imperial ambassador has sufficient instructions to enable him to conclude the peace, if they are so disposed, before the expiration of the term; but, as far as I could perceive, they have a mind to let it expire, in order to have some pretext with the empire to accept the alternative of Strasburg, which they would not dare to do while France offers that place. Hence I believe that, if the Imperialists were urged, they might still resolve to conclude, as it appears to me that they are much afraid lest Spain, Holland, and England should sign before them. If there can be a general armistice, as the Pensionary mentions in his letter, I shall be delighted; and if the term for the Emperor and the Empire can be prolonged, but I much doubt whether France will consent. I do not expect that Holland will hinder the conclusion of the peace on the day fixed, for the sake of its commerce; it would be a great misfortune. The ambassador of Saxony was also with me this morning, and would greatly desire that his master, as King of Poland, should be included in the peace. I should be very glad of it; but, so long as this affair is undecided, I do not believe that France will consent. If it could, at least, be agreed on both sides, not to interfere in the affairs of Poland,

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this might prevent great quarrels after peace is concluded, because France will then be at liberty to assist the Prince de Conti.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Loo, September 1. 1697, seven o'clock in the evening.

I have this afternoon received your letter written after midnight. I confess that I am distressed that the term has passed without any thing being concluded, though I easily understand that there was good reason for the course that has been pursued. I am astonished that the Spaniards consented to it, as I know that their instructions were positively to the contrary. I am extremely impatient to learn what may have passed this afternoon in the conference of Ryswick, for I believe that it must decide every thing. I hope, therefore, that you will be able to set out to-night or to-morrow evening. I fully comprehend that you must not quit the Hague before you see something decided, but I cannot imagine that this can drag on longer than a day or two, or the French will certainly play us some slippery trick, respecting which I am not a little uneasy.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Loo, Sept. 2. 1697, seven o'clock in the morning.

I am called up to receive your letter of yesterday, two o'clock. What I had foreseen, from letting the term expire, comes to pass. I do not know what to say to you to remedy so great a misfortune. I know very well that we are absolutely in need of peace; but I confess that the manner in which we are going to be compelled to make it, is terrible; and this would not have appeared so much before the expiration of the term, as it does at present. If Strasburg cannot be recovered, the ministers must endeavour, as much as possible, to appease the negotiators of the empire, that they may swallow this bitter pill.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Loo, Sept. 2. 1697, eight o'clock in the evening.

This afternoon I received your letter of yesterday evening. I confess that I was never more embarrassed in my life. What is to be done? I see that there is nothing so easy as to continue the war, but how we shall now make peace, after the declaration which the ambassadors of France have just made, I really know not. We must not speak of bygone matters, for which there is no remedy. I should be well inclined to make the declaration

which you propose, but, in that case, we must be absolutely resolved to continue the war, since once having taken this step we must not retract; and Heaven knows in what condition we are to continue it. Besides, I could not determine upon this declaration, without first knowing whether the Estates are disposed to it, and whether the gentlemen at Amsterdam would enter into it with good faith, otherwise we should only be deceiving ourselves. Hence, after mature reflection, I have not been able to come to any other determination, than that you should be so good as to make accurate inquiries, and learn the sentiments of the Pensionary, and other persons whom you judge to be capable of giving advice on a resolution so difficult to be taken as this, and to leave the Hague to-morrow evening, so that you may be here on Wednesday, that we may be able to converse together on a matter of such importance, and on which so much depends; I may then determine what to do. I do not see that it can do much harm to make such a declaration on Wednesday or Saturday. I know well that the sooner it is made the better. We might suffer Wednesday to pass over without doing any thing, for it is but reasonable that we should have some days to think over so weighty an affair, and I should wish that, before your departure, you should speak to the ambassadors of the Emperor, and have them spoken to for me, to ascertain whether they would be willing to make such a declaration, in order that, according to their answer, I may be the better able to take my measures. I

am perfectly satisfied that you should write to Marshal Boufflers, as the Pensionary thinks it necessary, but I know beforehand what answer you will receive from him.

LORD VILLIERS TO THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

Hague, September 3. 1697.

My Lord,

I thought I might have sent your Grace word that the business was concluded; but the unreasonableness of the French has put an ill delay to it. The Spaniards, Dutch, and we, were ready last Saturday to sign, if the French would have given a convenient time to the Imperialists to come in; but this they have refused, and gave in a new project last Sunday, with the equivalent for Strasburg, which consist in the restoration of Friburg and Brisach. The step that his Majesty has thought most proper to take on this occasion, is to declare against the equivalent, as well as to shew his dislike to the proceeding of the French, as to let the world know he will not leave his allies, except he is forced to it by their own wilfulness. It is a good deal their fault to have brought things to this pass; and what the King does now, is more for his own reputation than that they deserve it. I am told that there is no danger in making this seeming resistance; for if the French persist in keeping Strasburg, our friends here will have power enough to persuade us to comply; so that I hope there is no greater hazard in the business than the loss of some time.

THE EARL OF PORTLAND TO MARSHAL BOUFFLERS.

Loo, September 5. 1697.

Sir,

On my return to this place, his Majesty commanded me to go to you, and to speak with you of these affairs. I am delighted with a commission which will give me the honour of seeing you. I hope to be at Brussels on the 9th, when I beg you will let me know where and how I may have the gratification of seeing you. Immediately on my arrival, I shall send you a trumpeter, to inform you of it, that no time may be lost, since I cannot be long absent from this place.

LORD VILLIERS TO THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

Hague, September 6. 1697.

My Lord,

At this great crisis, I cannot forbear troubling your Grace, though I wrote you last post. I find every body here (some out of a desire to the war) very angry at the proceedings of the French, which indeed are far from being reasonable. Every thing seems at a stand. Since my Lord Portland left us, we have had no orders from his Majesty: I hope those we expect will be such as will not let us, in the least, hazard our engaging again in a war, which I am sure has not hitherto been his Majesty's intention; and, as I believe no new resolution of

this kind will be taken, without consulting your Grace, I take the freedom to tell you, that, in my opinion, we should close with those terms, unless it were in our power to oblige the French to better them. Since the taking of Barcelona they are entire masters of Spain; and the best we can hope from this kingdom is a neutrality. It will be impossible for the Imperialists to do better than they have done: they have made no recruits this year for want of money. The Prince of Baden was not able to take the field in time, for want of 300,000 pistoles from Vienna, which at last the commissary of the Dutch troops was obliged to advance him: their officers in Hungary are driven to the last extremity for want of pay. You will judge, my Lord, if these people are to be relied on, and if England and Holland will not bear the burden of a new war more than ever.

Your Grace does best know how England would like it, for the sake only of Strasburg, of if the Parliament would even think we were in earnest for a peace. I hope all this will be considered on this side the water, and that means will be found to overcome this last difficulty; but it is natural to fear while we are in doubt, and to complain to those who we think can prevent it.

MARSHAL BOUFFLERS TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Camp at Soignies, September 8. 1697.

Sir,

I have but this moment received the letter which you did me the honour to write to me on the 5th of this month. I assure you, that I shall be delighted to have the honour of seeing you, and of conversing with you; but as I cannot do so without the express permission of the King, I take the liberty of immediately despatching a courier, through whom I have the honour of informing his Majesty of what you communicate to me. So soon as I shall be honoured with his instructions, I shall lose no time in letting you hear from me at Brussels.

LOUIS XIV. TO MARSHAL BOUFFLERS.

Versailles, September 9. 1697.

My Cousin,

I have just received, by the courier whom you have sent to me, your letter from the camp of Soignies, of the 8th of this month, inclosing M. de Bentinck's letter to you, and your answer to it. I am willing to allow you to have the conference with him for which you ask me, either at Tubise, or at such other place as you may think proper. The copy of the letter which I write to my plenipotentiaries will inform you of the manner in

which I desire that you should reply to what the Sieur de Bentinck may say.

If, as I am persuaded by the tenor of his letter, he speaks to you in the same polite terms he has hitherto made use of, it is my intention that you should employ, in reply, those which I have indicated to you in my preceding letters. If, on the contrary, he should use arrogant language in this conference, you are to answer with all the dignity that becomes me.

MARSHAL BOUFFLERS TO LOUIS XIV.

Camp at Soignies, September 12. 1697.

Sire,

Agreeably to the letter dated the 9th of this month, with which your Majesty has honoured me, I had yesterday a conference of four hours and a half with M. de Bentinck, who, like myself, came to the rendezvous at Tubise about noon.

After mutual compliments, he expressed his pleasure at seeing me again, saying, however, he was very sorry and much hurt that it was such a subject which obliged him to come back to these parts; that, after the account which he had given at Loo to the Prince of Orange, on the subject of the new declaration of your Majesty's plenipotentiaries, the Prince had told him that it was necessary he should come and see me; that letters could not explain matters like words, nor could they be so easily answered, and that, therefore, in his sincere desire to concur, with

all his power, in promoting peace, it was necessary that he should come and see me, to inform me more particularly of every thing, and to show, at all events, that if, unhappily, peace should not be concluded, it would not be the fault of the Prince of Orange, who had fully and exactly fulfilled all the engagements into which he had entered for that purpose with your Majesty, in the conferences which M. de Bentinck and I had together; that I might have the honour of reporting the whole to your Majesty, still believing that the plenipotentiaries of your Majesty do not, perhaps, give you so correct and faithful an account as might be wished of his good intentions, and of the uprightness of his conduct respecting the peace, and whatever may be agreeable to your Majesty.

That, according to the terms which M. de Bentinck and myself agreed upon at our last conference at Coppegheim, on the 2d of August, conformably to the commands with which your Majesty had honoured me by your letter of July 30., your Majesty left it to the Prince of Orange to decide on the conduct which he should pursue with the allies, to induce them to peace, and the steps which he should think best calculated to obtain that object, he being better acquainted than any other person with their disposition;—he had proceeded to the Loo, to be nearer the seat of the conferences, and, consequently, more at hand to deliberate with the ministers of the allies, and more promptly to remove all the difficulties which might impede the conclusion of peace; that he had not neglected any thing that might have

depended upon him, effectually to labour for this purpose during the very short time which remained from the 3d of August, the day on which he left the army of the allies, till the last day of the same month inclusive; that he had been so fortunate as to see all the principal points agreed upon, which would even have been done sooner if it had not been evidently remarked that the plenipotentiaries of your Majesty sought only to delay, in order that the term prescribed might expire before any thing was concluded, and that they might have a pretext for delivering, on the 1st of September, the new declaration; finally, that the 30th of August having arrived, the Prince of Orange, to prove his good faith and sincere intentions to conclude peace, had caused an offer to be made by the ministers of England, Spain, and the States-General, to sign the peace that same day, the 30th, or on the 31st, engaging to oblige the Emperor also to sign it, on the terms laid down in the preliminaries, and the proposal for peace, which the Prince of Orange, Spain, and the States-General accepted, actually and in fact, for the Emperor and the Empire in their name; only requiring, as has always been the custom, that the Emperor and the other allies should be concerned, after them, if they thought proper, in the treaty of peace, and that the necessary time should be granted them for sending a courier to Vienna, who should stop three or four days in that city, to allow time for deliberation, and then to return, with all speed, and bring back the answer of the Emperor; and, in case he refused his consent, he should be excluded

from the peace, and the decision of the three powers above mentioned should remain in all their force and particulars, to the exclusion of the Emperor, all which had been harshly refused; that even before the 31st the ministers of the Emperor and of the Empire had declared that they accepted Strasburg and left the equivalent to your Majesty, in virtue of the liberty of choice which had been granted them, and that they had given notice of this resolution to your Majesty's plenipotentiaries, before the expiration of the 31st of August, who had refused to listen to them, and had raised new difficulties on the ratification of the treaties of peace by Spain, England, and the States-General, and declined to agree to a suspension of arms between the three powers above mentioned, as soon as peace should be signed; that they had been shown how impossible it was that peace could be signed and the ratification delivered to them at the same time; that, though the Prince of Orange was on the spot, he could not ratify it alone and of his own authority; that the treaty must be sent to England; that it must be seen and read by the Parliament, and sealed with the Great Seal; and, lastly, that all the formalities required for the validity of the treaty must be observed, and that not a moment's time would be lost; that, in like manner, though the plenipotentiaries of the States, and even the States-General, were on the spot, yet the treaty must be sent to the provinces to be ratified, but that this should be done with all possible diligence, and that, as for the ratification of Spain, they well knew that the treaty must be sent

to Madrid and brought back again; and therefore it was neither usual nor possible to give the ratification of a treaty at the same time that it is signed; but that the Prince of Orange, to show his sincere desire to obtain peace, and to give them all imaginable and practicable satisfaction, offered to sign an act, in the most binding forms that can be imagined or desired, by which he would engage to furnish, without delay, and with all the speed possible, the said ratification, rendering himself security for this, in his own proper and private name, which was all he could do; but that the plenipotentiaries of your Majesty would not consent to this, nor to the suspension of arms, though it was shown to them that it is a natural custom, and universally practised, that hostilities should cease as soon as peace is signed, the masters losing no time to communicate to those who command their armies, and giving them instructions on the subject; so that, in consequence of all these refusals and difficulties on the part of your Majesty's plenipotentiaries, who always persist, without reason, in the opinion that the Emperor and the Empire shall sign at the same time as Spain, England, and the States-General, or be excluded from the peace, the 31st of August passed over without the peace being signed, notwithstanding the good intentions and sincere desire of the Prince of Orange as well as of the ministers of Spain and the States-General that it should be done; that this conduct of your Majesty's plenipotentiaries, as well as the new declaration of the 1st of September, have caused among all the ministers of the allies and the mediator a

degree of surprise and confusion which cannot be expressed, no one now knowing what course to take, or how to work out the treaties, since they cannot help believing that there is a want of good faith, and that the continuation of the war is absolutely intended; for nothing can be more reasonable than all which has been proposed to your Majesty's plenipotentiaries to attain the peace, and nothing more advantageous to your Majesty, while waiting for a general peace, than to be able to detach from the league three of the principal powers, without which the remainder cannot hold out against your Majesty, or avoid accepting the peace; for they require for this purpose only to be allowed time to go and return, and three or four days' stay for the couriers, who are to be despatched to them immediately after the signing of the peace by Spain, England, and the States-General; that there are no extremities to which the Prince of Orange is not resolved to expose himself, rather than to take upon him the disgrace of abandoning his allies and signing the peace to their complete exclusion; whereas in granting them the liberty of being admitted into it and the terms above mentioned, he would be entirely exculpated if they refused to join on the conditions proposed by your Majesty, and he on his part would punctually execute the peace which he had signed with you.

That besides that this new declaration is entirely contrary to the preliminaries, to the treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen, and to the proposal for peace, that it throws every thing into con-

fusion, and neither the Emperor nor the Empire would ever consent to it, yet, even supposing they were capable of suffering themselves to be persuaded to consent, it is easy to see that it is determined not to give them the means, or the liberty to do so, by the term of twenty days, prescribed by the said declaration, for within this period it is impossible to have an answer from the Emperor, or from the Empire, and still less from Spain, which is obliged, by the said declaration, to bring the consent of the Emperor, and of the Empire, for the cession of Strasburg, before Barcelona is restored to it, for it is not practicable, within the term of twenty days, to send to Madrid, from Madrid to Vienna, and for the answer to be brought from Vienna to the Hague, before the expiration of the said term, which gives ground for believing that nothing but a pretext, whether just or not, is sought, to put forth a new declaration on the 21st of September, which will entirely break off the negotiation for peace.

That even if the ministers of the Emperor, and of the Empire, had refused to determine, before the expiration of the 31st of August, between the choice of Strasburg and the equivalent, which is not the case, since, in fact, they declared before the expiration of the 31st that they would choose Strasburg, and leave the equivalent to your Majesty; and your Majesty, having left it to the Prince of Orange to induce the Emperor and the allies to agree to the peace, agreeably to the condi-

tions proposed by your Majesty, you cannot be legitimately freed from the engagements which you have entered into upon this point with the Prince of Orange, since he most uniformly offered to sign for the Emperor and the Empire, and to accept Strasburg before the expiration of the 31st, and to become surety for every thing; he, therefore, ventures to hope that your Majesty will have the goodness to reflect upon it, and give him marks, on this occasion, of the regard of which you have assured him, since he, on his part, has so completely done every thing that depended on him at once to merit your regard, and to fulfil all the engagements into which he entered with your Majesty; and, that strongly convinced as he is of the sincere intentions of your Majesty to conclude peace, he hopes you will be pleased again to place matters relating to the alternative of Strasburg and the equivalent, on the same footing as they were before the declaration of the 1st of September, and consent that the Emperor and the allies may enter into the treaty of peace, giving them a reasonable time for couriers to be despatched to them, some days for them to deliberate and to despatch the said couriers, and likewise for the couriers to return.

M. de Bentinck also told me that your Majesty's plenipotentiaries had intimated to several ministers of the allies that they never intended to give up Strasburg, which more and more confirms the supposition that the difficulties which they have raised about the signature of the peace were only to let the

term expire, which your Majesty had prescribed, that they might have a pretext to give the new declaration for the retention of Strasburg.

To all this I replied that it would be doing great wrong and great injustice to your Majesty to doubt of your good and sincere intentions regarding peace; that your Majesty had given too many proofs of them by the advantageous offers which you had long since made to the allies; and by the moderation which you manifested in this new declaration, being content, in exchange for the restoration of Barcelona, to select Strasburg which the Emperor and the Empire had not chosen to determine upon, and leaving them the same equivalent which your Majesty had fixed for the said city of Strasburg, even adding to it Barcelona; your Majesty being further satisfied with demanding a few villages of the Lordship of Ath, though you had a right to require much more for a place of that importance; for you were free from your promise, and from all your engagements, as the allies had not chosen to sign the peace within the time prescribed by your Majesty; that I knew perfectly well that the ministers of the Emperor, and of the Empire, had constantly refused to sign, and had raised difficulties upon difficulties, merely to waste time; that it depended upon the allies alone to sign the peace, even before midnight of the last day of the prescribed term; that, if they had then unanimously accepted the conditions proposed by your Majesty, your plenipotentiaries had instructions to conclude, and thus your Majesty had, with

the utmost strictness, adhered to the promise you had given.

To this M. de Bentinck replied, that the conditions which your Majesty had long offered to the allies were very advantageous and very reasonable; that they had been regarded as such, but, that till they were put in execution, they could not be considered as advantageous; that though it appears that the liberty which your Majesty will no longer grant to the Emperor to choose Strasburg or the equivalent is a trifling matter, it entirely changes the nature of affairs, and is diametrically opposed to the treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen, the city of Strasburg being a free Imperial city, which, according to the said treaties, should be restored to the Empire, while the cities of Freyburg and Brisach, which your Majesty gives as an equivalent for Strasburg, are part of the dominions of the Emperor, and consequently, can be of no advantage to the Empire. And, besides that, by the terms of the declaration of the 1st of September, it is no longer making peace, but arrogantly and harshly imposing law, which could not be agreeable or suitable either to the Emperor or to the allies, and at the same time put it out of the power of the Prince of Orange to make them listen to reason by persuasion and mildness, the only means he can resort to, inasmuch as he has no authority over them; and, that in regard to what I had intimated to him, that if the allies had thought fit unanimously to accept the conditions offered by your Majesty, your plenipotentiaries would have

concluded it never was a condition stipulated either in the preliminaries or by the proposal for peace, or in fixing the first term of six weeks, or in our conferences, that all the allies should be bound, in the course of the said term of six weeks, unanimously to accept the said conditions; that, on the contrary, we had agreed, in our conferences, that the Prince of Orange should use all his efforts to induce the Emperor, Spain, and all the allies, to accept peace on the terms offered by your Majesty, and that if they refused to agree to it, after a sufficient time had been given them, he would conclude it, and exclude them conjointly with the States-General; that he offered to do this with much readiness and sincerity, having besides induced Spain to do the same thing; that he had been harshly refused a very short term to persuade the Emperor and the Empire; that he had neither the right nor the power to command and force them to sign; that he could not induce them save by his example; and, after having signed the peace himself, to invite and urge them to do the same thing, as he considered your Majesty's terms very reasonable; and if they had then refused the peace, it would, nevertheless, have been firm and stable with your Majesty, as well as with the States-General and with Spain, to the exclusion of those who had refused to sign; that neither the world, nor his conscience, can make him the slightest reproach with respect to the uprightness and sincerity of his endeavours to promote the general peace, and scrupulously to

fulfil all the engagements which he has made on that subject with your Majesty; that God is his witness, and that he can only refer to His will and to His providence all the misfortunes and events which will follow the continuation of the war.

I answered him, that your Majesty had likewise nothing to reproach yourself with in regard to all just and reasonable facilities to contribute to peace; that the infinite number of important fortresses which you gave up to your enemies, without being in any way compelled to it, but solely through pure generosity, was a very certain and incontestable proof of your uprightness and good intentions regarding peace; that the change which your Majesty had just made in the first proposal was not to aggrandise yourself or to gain any advantage, but, on the contrary, to give more to your enemies, and to establish the peace more firmly.

All these reasons and many others, which it would be tedious to detail, did not appear to persuade M. de Bentinck, and he constantly persisted in saying that it was not to be hoped that the Prince of Orange would sign the peace, unless the Emperor and the allies were permitted to accede to it, giving them a reasonable time to do so; and, unless things were placed on the same footing as they were with respect to the choice of Strasburg or of the equivalent; or unless the said equivalent were increased in such a manner that the Emperor and the Empire might find it so advantageous, as to be induced to consent to the cession of Strasburg.

Such, Sire, are the leading and prominent features of a conversation of four hours and a half. M. de Bentinck always spoke with much reserve and circumspection, but, with much politeness and civility, and, with all possible warmth, he did not fail to let me know that the Prince of Orange is sensibly affected by the obstacles which he perceives will stand in the way of peace, if the conditions proposed by the new declaration are persisted in, and by the little respect which is shown to him; even complaining that, in spite of the assurances which I gave M. de Bentinck in our last interview of the 2d of August, that it was sufficient that your Majesty was convinced of the good intentions of the Prince of Orange, and that he should see that the language and conduct of your Majesty's plenipotentiaries would be henceforth conformable to the good opinion which your Majesty had of him, and would efface the impressions they might have made; complaining, I say, that, in spite of all this, neither he nor his ministers have observed any change on the part of your Majesty's plenipotentiaries; that not only have they given them no verbal answer on any point whatever, as your Majesty had intimated that they might do, but they have not even communicated any thing to them through the ambassadors of the States-General, though it was agreed that they should treat with them through this channel, and have hitherto behaved with entire reserve to the said ministers of the Prince of Orange, without any appearance of respect, which is not a way to conciliate people's minds and to excite confidence, when

it is necessary to act in concert for the success of so important an affair which had been left to the management of the Prince of Orange, in what concerns the allies.

LORD VILLIERS TO THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

Hague, September 13. 1697.

I wish I could give your Grace some good account of what more nearly concerns us. My Lord Portland is expected back from Brussels to-morrow. I have received letters to-day, by which I fear that his journey has not much advanced our affairs. I find the King wishes this business had been ended the last of August, for he apprehends that the conditions from the French will every day grow worse and worse, and their behaviour more insolent.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Loo, September 14. 1697, eight o'clock in the morning.

Your letter of the 12th, from Brussels, having arrived here yesterday evening after I had gone to rest, was not delivered to me till this morning. I am much concerned that you have reaped no other benefit from the conference which you had with Marshal Boufflers; but you know that I never expected any other result. If I followed my own inclinations, I should be firm and make no concession; but you will

learn from the Pensionary the declaration which the citizens of Amsterdam have caused me to make. Thus I cannot discover any means of continuing the war, and without that, you know, our firmness would avail us nothing. I hope that you will arrive at the Hague to-day and be here to-morrow. I do not think that the Pensionary could quit the Hague for a day, the term being so short; and you may learn from him in detail what his sentiments are, and report them to me to-morrow. He may get my answer on Monday morning. It will be very necessary that you should likewise speak to the mediator. But, after all, I have strong fears that we shall be obliged to make peace as we can, if France will have it, unless we can clearly show the burghers of Amsterdam that she does not desire it, and that she continues to deceive us; otherwise I do not know how it will be possible to oblige them to continue their contributions to the expenses of the war. As for England, though they, too, ardently wish for peace, I am not so very anxious on their account; but you know the Parliament.

LORD VILLIERS TO THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

Hague, September 17. 1697.

My Lord,

The last conference between the generals has had no effect. Since Sunday last our negotiation has been on foot again, and the Spaniards have done all but signing. Our affairs are also con-

cluded, and this afternoon the ambassadors of the States are with the French to finish theirs, and to adjust the whole, as well for the Imperialists coming in as for a general cessation of arms; so that I hope, if the French really design making peace, we shall be wise enough to conclude it in a few days.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Loo, September 22. 1697.

I received, last night, your letter of the preceding day, and your letter of yesterday has been delivered to me to-night by Lord Villiers. May God be pleased to bless the peace which has just been concluded *, and long continue it by his

* The treaty was concluded at Ryswick the 22d, at 6 o'clock of the morning, between France, England, Spain, and the States General. A separate article allowed the Emperor to the 1st of November, to be included in the treaty of peace, and, if he did not think fit to accept it, that was to make no alteration in what others had concluded. His plenipotentiaries signed it the 2d of that month.

" Le roi et la reine d'Angleterre (King James and his queen) étaient à Fontainebleau, à qui reconnaissance du Prince d'Orange fut bien amère. Mais ils en connaissaient la nécessité pour avoir la paix, et savaient bien aussi que cet article ne l'était guères moins au Roi qu'à eux-mêmes. Ils se consolèrent comme ils purent, et parurent même fort obligés au Roi qui tint également ferme à ne vouloir pas souffrir qu'ils sortissent de France, ni qu'ils quittassent le séjour de St. Germain. Le roi eut l'attention de dire à Torcy sur le point de la signature, que si le courrier qui en apporterait la nouvelle arrivait, un ou plusieurs

grace. Yet I confess that the manner in which it has been concluded inspires me with apprehensions for the future. At present, it is absolutely necessary that I should speak to you without delay on many important affairs. I therefore beg you will come here on Wednesday.

P. S.—I do not conceive why the Imperialists and the ministers of the Empire will not consent to an armistice. I hope, however, that this affair will be settled either to-day or to-morrow.

EARL OF PORTLAND TO THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

Loo, September 24. 1697.

I congratulate you most truly that peace is at length made, such as it is, for, in my opinion, though it is not much to the advantage of France, who purchase it dearly enough, yet we might have made it in a better manner, without permitting France to assume that haughty demeanour which she has manifested since the last of August, had we not testified an immoderate desire, and even a necessity, of making this peace. However, it will ease our affairs in England, provided we do not rely on, and trust to it too much, and we place ourselves in a condition to ensure and preserve it as it should be; which Heaven grant.

l'un après l'autre, il ne le lui vint point dire s'il était alors avec le roi et la reine d'Angleterre, et il défendit aux musiciens de chanter rien qui eut rapport à la paix jusqu'au départ de la cour d'Angleterre."—*Mémoires de St. Simon.*

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Dieren, October 15. 1697.

At my suggestion, the Elector of Bavaria has given instructions to the Count de Bergheyck*, who will be

* It would be impossible to give any details respecting this personage, who acted so remarkable a part in the affairs of the Spanish Low Countries during this period. His name is missing in all the biographies ; but, happily, it has been preserved for ever from oblivion by the pen of the Duke of Saint Simon.

" Bergheyck, d'abord baron, puis comte, à dire vrai, ni l'un ni l'autre, qu'à la mode de nos ministres, était un homme de Flandre et de meilleure maison qu'ils ne sont d'ordinaire, qui avait travaillé dans les finances des Pays-Bas sur la fin du règne de Charles II., que l'Electeur de Bavière y trouva fort employé, et qu'il y continua à la mort du roi d'Espagne. Sa capacité et sa droiture donnèrent confiance en lui ; sa fidélité et son zèle y répondirent, avec beaucoup d'esprit, de sens, de lumière, de justesse, une grande facilité de travail, et d'abord beaucoup de douceur avec tout le monde, et, dans la manière de gouverner, une grande modestie, un entier désintéressement et beaucoup de vues. Il se pouvait dire un homme très rare, et qui avait une connaissance parfaite non seulement des finances, mais de toutes les affaires des Pays-Bas ; avec tous ces talents, grand travailleur et fort appliqué, et qui avait une exactitude et une simplicité en tout singulière. C'était un homme qui ne s'avançait jamais, qui ne parlait jamais aussi contre sa pensée, mais ferme dans ses avis et qui les mettait en tout leur jour, obéissant après qu'il avait dit toutes ses raisons, tout comme s'il les eut suivies, et non pas des ordres contraires ou différents de ce qu'il avait cru et exposé comme meilleur. Il fut long-temps en première place. Il vécut plusieurs années content et retiré depuis l'avoir quittée, et ne se mêlant plus de rien ; fort homme de bien, point du tout riche, et n'ayant jamais rien fait pour sa famille. Même dans sa retraite il conserva beaucoup de considération en Flandre, où il fut universellement aimé, estimé, honoré, et re-

at Loo on Thursday next. I beg you will take the trouble to repair thither also on that day, (which will be the day after to-morrow,) and to bring with you M. van Dyckvelt. Affairs of the greatest importance will have to be discussed.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Loo, October 17. 1697.

I believe that it is absolutely necessary to negotiate for more money, the possibility of which you will see when you are in England. I perceive that my Lord Sunderland is vexed. I hope that you will be able to content my Lord Macclesfield *, and thus set all to rights, which, however, is not very easy to be effected.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF GALWAY.†

Loo, October 18. 1697.

The peace being now made and ratified, it must be considered what forces to keep on foot. I much

gretté. Ce sont de ces trésors que les rois savent rarement connaître, et dont il est plus rare encore qu'ils ne se dégoûtent pas."—*Mémoires de St. Simon*, vol. ix. p. 190, edit. 1840.

* Charles Gerard, second Earl of Macclesfield. He was the husband of the lady so memorable as the mother of Richard Savage.

† Henri de Massue, Marquis de Renneval and de Ruvigny, came into England with his family in 1685. On the Revolution he offered his services to William, who, for his bravery at the

approve the project you sent me, of keeping in Ireland twenty battalions of infantry, four regiments

battle of the Boyne, created him a peer of Ireland, as Viscount Galway, and advanced him to an earldom in 1693. He was sent afterwards as lieutenant-general of the forces and envoy extraordinary to Savoy; and when he returned, in 1696, was made commander-in-chief in Ireland and one of the Lords Justices.

"La paix s'approchant," says Saint Simon, "le Roi la prévint par un trait de vengeance contre my lord Galway, dont il n'aurait plus été temps bientôt après. Il était fils de Ruvigny, bon, mais simple gentilhomme, plein d'esprit, de sagesse, d'honneur, et de probité, fort huguenot, mais d'une grande conduite et d'une grande dextérité. Le Roi l'aima et le considéra toujours, et il fut le seul avec le maréchal de Schomberg, à qui le Roi offrit de demeurer à Paris et à la cour avec leurs biens et la secrète liberté de leur religion dans leur maison, lors de la révocation de l'édit de Nantes, mais tous deux refusèrent. Ruvigny emporta ce qu'il voulut, et laissa ce qu'il voulut aussi, dont le roi lui permit la jouissance. Il se retira en Angleterre avec ses deux fils. La Caillemotte, le cadet, plus disgracié encore du côté de l'âme que de celui du corps, mourut bientôt après. Le père ne survient pas long-temps, et son ainé continua à jouir des biens que son père avait laissés en France. Il s'attacha au service du Prince d'Orange à la révolution, qui le fit comte de Galway en Irlande, et l'avança beaucoup. Il était bon officier, il avait de l'ambition, elle le rendit ingrat. Il se distingua en haine contre le Roi et contre la France, quoique le seul huguenot qu'on y laissa jouir de son bien, même servant le Prince d'Orange. Le Roi le fit avertir plusieurs fois du mécontentement qu'il avait de sa conduite. Il en augmenta les torts avec plus d'éclat. A la fin le Roi confisqua ses biens et témoigna publiquement sa colère. Le vieux Ruvigny était ami d'Harlay, lors procureur général, et depuis premier président, et lui avait laissé un dépôt entre les mains dans la confiance de sa fidélité. Il la lui garda tant qu'il n'en put pas abuser; mais quand il vit l'éclat, il se trouva modestement embarrassé entre le fils de son ami et son maître, à qui il révéla humblement sa peine. Il prétendit que le Roi

of dragoons, and eighteen troops of horse, and reducing the pay of the officers. I have imparted this project to none but Lord Portland, whom I am going to send to England, and with whom you must correspond about this matter, and let me know what public orders will be necessary to be given for the execution of this affair. My design is to disband most of the regiments of foot and dragoons now in Ireland, and to send thither some of these that are in Flanders. I also intend to send thither your regiment of horse, and the three French regiments of foot, incorporating some officers, who have served in Piedmont, of the four regiments which are on the Rhine, and which I am going to reform, and to take all the French Protestant soldiers, and put them into the three above mentioned regiments. Be always assured of the continuation of my friendship.

P. S. — I think to reduce Wolseley's regiments to three troops, and yours to six, to remove all jealousy in England.

l'avait su d'ailleurs. Je n'approfondirai pas ce secret, mais le fait est qu'il le dit lui-même, et que pour récompense, le Roi le lui donna comme bien confisqué, et que cet hypocrite de justice, de vertu, de désintéressement, et de rigorisme, n'eut pas honte de se l'approprier, et de fermer les yeux et les oreilles au bruit qu'excita cette perfidie. Il en tira plus d'un parti, car le Roi en colère contre Galway, lui en sut si bon gré, qu'il donna à son fils fort jeune une place de conseiller d'état, et quelque temps après il le combla par une pension de 20,000 livres, qui est celle des ministres."

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Loo, October 27. 1697.

I am very sorry to hear with what arrogance the French maintain their unreasonable pretensions against the Emperor and the Empire. I do not see, however, at present, any other remedy for the latter than to conclude peace on such conditions as they can obtain; for, if the postponed term expire before they have signed it, it is clear that the result will be only misery and confusion in the Empire; a circumstance which annoys me the more as the time is so short. I await the result with impatience.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Loo, October 31. 1697, nine o'clock in the morning.

This morning when I rose, your letter of yesterday was put into my hands, and I am greatly embarrassed to give it a positive reply. It would doubtless be our duty to continue the war, rather than to make any concession that might be prejudicial to the free exercise of the reformed faith.*

* "The ambassadors of the protestant Princes being met together, they named four deputies, who delivered a memorial to the mediator, wherein they demanded that at Strasburg, and other cities of Alsatia, which belonged to France, the Lutheran religion should be tolerated, and enjoy all those rights and immunities, as in the year 1624. To this the French demanded eight days to answer. But, what misunderstanding soever there

If the deputies of Amsterdam, and consequently the States, will hold out, I should also be inclined to do so, in the hope that the Parliament would aid me in carrying out so pious a work. On the other hand, however, I must confess to you that I do not believe, humanly speaking, that the Protestant Princes and the States can cope with the Catholic Powers, especially at present, when we have neither Sweden, nor Denmark, nor the Swiss cantons with us. I have always apprehended a religious war, fearing lest France and Austria should have a secret

might be, between the French and Imperial plenipotentiaries, as to other points, they agreed, or rather combined together, to have a clause inserted in the 6th article of the treaty between the Empire and France, that the Roman Catholic religion, in the places to be delivered up, should remain in the same state in which it was at that time, without any notice taken of the protestants. By this means several churches were to be condemned, that otherwise, according to the laws of the Empire, and in particular of these dominions, were to be restored to the protestants. The Elector Palatine accepted of this condition very willingly; but some of the princes refused to submit to it; and a strong declaration was published by the ministers of the protestant Princes against this proceeding, as contrary to the laws of the Empire, to the peace of religion in 1555, to the treaty of Westphalia, and to the preliminaries of the present treaty of Ryswick. But it was all in vain, for this affair had been secretly concerted among the whole popish party. King William was troubled at this treacherous motion; but he saw no inclination in any of the allies to oppose it with zeal. The importance of the thing — sixteen churches only being condemned by it — was not such as to deserve that he should venture a rupture upon it. The king therefore contented himself with ordering his plenipotentiaries to protest against this, which they did in a formal act that they passed."— *Tindal.*

understanding, which is, at present, but too manifest. I cannot conceive that Sweden will suffer herself to be employed as a mediatrix, and that she will permit, on the subject of religion, a violation of the treaty of Westphalia so notorious as that which France now requires. This affair puts me in the greatest embarrassment. God grant that some expedient may have been found before you can receive this letter, for it will probably not reach you till after midnight, and consequently, not till after the expiration of the term fixed for the signature of the treaty. I much fear that the ministers of the Protestant Princes will not be the only ones who may refuse to sign, for that might occasion them serious disadvantages in the future; and I do not see how we can assist them with sufficient promptitude, and prevent the evil which France will undoubtedly bring upon them. I send by the present courier instructions to my ambassadors to take every measure with those of the States, and to agree with them, so that, if you hold out, we shall do the same on our part.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Loo, October 31. 1697.

I perceive by the letters which arrived from England yesterday, that the reform is not yet made. I imagine that the true reason is, reluctance to disoblige Lord Macclesfield, and that they wait for an answer to what they have written to me

respecting him. I do not know whether what you will say to him from me will satisfy him. I have, therefore, thought that if provisionally and till he can have the regiment of Oxford, I could leave him his company, adding two other companies of those who shall come from Flanders, a regiment might be formed for him of a squadron, though I shall be obliged to form the other regiments on the same footing.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

The Hague, November 8. 1697.

I am much rejoiced that you find matters in a favourable state, on which, however, there is no dependence till we see the end of the Parliament, knowing the changeable humour which prevails in England. I highly approve the project which you have sent me, for the reduction of the troops, and I shall be well contented to follow it, but I greatly fear that the Parliament will be scarcely prevailed upon to continue thirty thousand men in service.

It seems that the French delay the evacuation of the fortresses, and it may very well happen that they will practise some chicanery, as is their wont. It is remarkable that they have not yet made any reduction of their troops; on the contrary, they are augmenting their foreign corps.

Matters go on very badly in Poland, for the king, who is crowned, and France has declared war against the city of Dansig. Altogether shews that

affairs are not yet in that state of tranquillity which might be desired. I believe I shall see the ambassadors of France to-morrow.

COUNT CAILLIERES * TO THE MARCHIONESS D'UXELLES.

November 12. 1697.

We had an audience of the King of England on Saturday last, the 9th of this month. Great courtesy was shown on both sides. He spoke very well of the King, and said that he had never manifested any personal disrespect to so great a Prince, though circumstances had involved him in opposition to him; that he had always desired his esteem, and asked for his friendship. M. de Harlay, who addressed him, spoke very well, and he replied with much politeness. He then entered into conversation with us three. He addressed me in

* François de Caillières, one of the French plenipotentiaries at the peace of Ryswick. "Il avait," says Saint-Simon in his Memoirs, "beaucoup de lettres, beaucoup d'esprit d'affaires, et de ressources, et fort sobre et laborieux, extrêmement sûr et honnête homme. C'était un grand homme maigre, avec un grand nez, la tête en arrière, distrait, civil, respectueux, qui à force d'avoir vécu parmi les étrangers, en avait pris toutes les manières, et avait acquis un extérieur désagréable, auquel les dames et les gens du bel air ne purent s'accoutumer, mais qui disparaissait dès qu'on l'entretenait de choses et non de bagatelles. C'était en tout un très-bon homme, extrêmement sage et sensé, qui aimait l'état, et qui était fort instruit, fort modeste, et parfaitement désintéressé."

particular, saying, that he had several times communicated to me the assurance of his desire for peace, but that I would not believe it; that, however, I might have seen by the sequel that he had contributed to it as far as had been in his power. I replied, that he appeared to me to be so fond of war that I had reason to apprehend that he would wish to continue it, but that I had reported to the King the assurances he had imparted to me of his desire for peace, and that his Majesty had been persuaded of it, since he had left me in this country to negotiate it. He gave us much praise for having succeeded in adjusting so many conflicting interests; and said that we had gained much glory in this negotiation, which required ministers so prudent and so able, and made other obliging remarks to the same effect. He spoke to us very familiarly, and conversed on the late war. He said that there had been some of longer continuance, but not more sanguinary, and in which the two parties had brought such great forces into the field; that at the battle of Senef the army which the Prince de Condé commanded, and which was the greatest he ever commanded, would have been but a detachment of those which have since appeared. We told him that he had seen by the last war what France could do under a King like ours. He replied, with a smile, that he had been but too sensible of it. He repeatedly assured us that he passionately desired to preserve peace between the two crowns; that it would now depend

only on the King whether it should be firm and durable; that he was no longer young, and had need of repose after so many labours as he had sustained during his life; that he knew the misery which the people had suffered during the war. He added, that he was under great obligations to this state (Holland), which he considers as his own country, and he loves it as people generally love the country in which they have been brought up; that this country has suffered greatly; and that he was very glad to be able to contribute something to its repose. He received us alone in his cabinet, where we three entered without any attendants, and were about half an hour in conversation with him. He saluted us very courteously, all three in succession, both as we entered and as we left, and spoke very politely to us individually. He speaks well, and to the point, and seems careful to choose the terms which he employs, so as to express neither too much nor too little. He speaks French well, and has no foreign accent. He speaks thick, and very slowly. He is thin, and appears to be of a weak constitution, notwithstanding the great fatigue which he daily undergoes in hunting, as he did yesterday, in this cold weather, from morning till evening.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, $\frac{16.}{26.}$ November, 1697.

I arrived here this evening, after having passed through the city amidst the lively acclamations of the people. I do not recollect having ever seen so great an assemblage of well dressed people. It is impossible to conceive what joy the peace causes here. I foresee that I shall be obliged to prorogue the Parliament for some days, because it is not possible to prepare everything for the session in so short a time. As for the temper of peoples' mind I am not yet able to say anything, as you may well suppose, since I have not had time to speak to any body.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, $\frac{19.}{29.}$ November, 1697.

I have been obliged, in order to have more leisure to make all my preparations, to prorogue Parliament for a fortnight. Hitherto I have not been at all able to judge of the turn which affairs will take. I can clearly see that in general they are inclined to have an army on foot during peace, but the main question is to regulate the number of troops: some are for fixing it at 30,000 men, others at no more than 20,000; so that it is not yet

possible to judge with certainty. There will be much difficulty in finding means to pay the debts, and the current expences. The session will therefore certainly be very long.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, $\frac{\text{Nov. 23.}}{\text{Dec. 3.}}$ 1697.

I am very glad that the ambassadors of France have expressed themselves with so much civility, though there is little good to be expected from it for the cause of religion. I hope that those princes will not hesitate any longer to ratify, on the part of the Empire, the treaty of peace which has just been concluded: the term expires in a few days. I am not yet without uneasiness respecting the evacuation of Mecklenburg. The answer which the French ambassadors have given you on this subject seems to me to be very equivocal. What gives me the most distrust is, that the French have not till now made any reduction of their army; their troops are still very considerable, and yet you know that they are very economical.

I am sorry that the affair of the guarantee and the association makes so little progress. It will be proper, I think, to insist more strongly on this point after the evacuation of all the fortresses shall have taken place; for I consider this measure as the only security for peace.

As soon as the ambassador of Denmark shall have received instructions to treat, this business must be pushed.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, $\frac{\text{Nov. 26.}}{\text{Dec. 6.}}$ 1697.

I have nothing worth communicating to you. I perceive that the project of maintaining troops in the country during peace will meet with more difficulties in Parliament than I had expected. The members who have come from the provinces (county members) seem to be strongly prejudiced against this measure, and infinite pains are taken to discredit it in the eyes of the public by speeches and by pamphlets. On the other hand, nothing is neglected to oppose this notion; but it is yet impossible to see what the result will be.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF GALWAY.

Kensington, $\frac{\text{November 26.}}{\text{December 6.}}$ 1697.

I refer you to what Lord Portland will write to you about the forces, by which you will learn my intentions. I assure you I am very much troubled to find things here run so high against the poor refugees. This has struck me; but you know these

sorts of things pass here very easily. Be ever assured of my esteem.

P. S. — I hope you 'll be able to put an end very soon to the parliament of Ireland.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, $\frac{\text{Nov. 30.}}{\text{Dec. 10.}}$ 1697.

From what you write to me respecting the conference with the ambassador of Denmark, it does not seem that that power is very eager to enter into a closer alliance with us. It is, however, very much for our interests, now that there is more reason than ever to fear that Sweden will throw herself entirely into the arms of France. But if, as I suspect, Denmark is not thus inclined, we can do no more than manifest our good-will in this respect, and await the course it may think fit to pursue.

I must tell you, to my great regret, that I find every day more difficulty in getting the members of Parliament to consent to keep a good number of national troops on foot. You have no idea of the manner in which people here reason.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, December $\frac{3.}{13.}$ 1697.

The opening of Parliament took place to-day: we cannot yet conjecture anything respecting the

issue of the deliberations. The two Houses have resolved to compliment me, and I believe that their addresses will not be wanting in frankness. This is a good commencement; but what will be the result, time must show.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, Dec. 7–17. 1697.

It is absolutely necessary that M. van Dykvelt should repair immediately to Brussels, for matters are in nowise going on there as they ought to do, and are taking a turn directly contrary to what was agreed upon at Loo. I do not know either whether it will not soon be time for the States to appoint their ambassador in France, because Bonrepos*, it is said, will shortly arrive at the Hague.

* Bonrepos, ambassador of Louis XIV. to the States-General. "Bonrepos," says Saint-Simon in his Memoirs, "se prétendait gentilhomme du pays de Foix. Il avait passé sa vie dans les bureaux de la marine. M. de Seignelay s'en servait avec confiance; et quoique l'oncle et le neveu ne fussent pas toujours d'accord, M. de Croissy lui donna aussi la sienne. Un traité de marine et de commerce que pendant la paix précédente il alla faire en Angleterre, où il réussit fort bien, le fit connaître à Croissy. Il y demeura longtemps à reprises, et en homme d'esprit et de sens, se procurait des occasions de faire des voyages à la cour, où il fit valoir son travail. Cet emploi le décrassa. Il continua à travailler sous M. de Seignelay, puis sous M. de Ponchartrain, mais non plus sur le pied de premier commis; il obtint permission d'acheter une charge de lecteur du roi pour en avoir les entrées et un logement à Versailles; il s'y était fait

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, December $\frac{10.}{20.}$ 1697.

I am sorry to have to announce to you that the debates in Parliament to-day took an unfavourable turn. The House of Commons voted that all the levies of troops made since the year 1680 shall be disbanded, so that I shall keep in the service only as many troops as there were in the time of King Charles, that is to say, at most 8,000 men. How this is to be remedied I am ignorant, but I expect much disorder and confusion.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, December $\frac{17.}{27.}$ 1697.

I fear that the resolution of the Empire will produce but little effect, for all the Princes are disarming, and I do not yet see any appearance of the enumeration of forces, on which however all our security depends, if at the same time we keep

des amis de ceux de M. de Seignelay, et d'autres encore. Il était honnête homme et fort bien reçu dans les maisons les plus distinguées de la cour. Tout cela l'aida à prendre un plus grand vol, et il réussit toujours dans ses ambassades. C'était un très petit homme, gros, d'une figure assez ridicule, avec un accent désagréable, mais qui parlait bien et avec qui il y avait à apprendre et même à s'amuser."

only a few troops on foot here. I foresee that we shall be in all respects in a state of great uncertainty, which does not disquiet me a little. It is incredible what erroneous notions men here have conceived, and the part which my enemies act.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, Dec. 21–31. 1697.

I received by the last mail a letter from the Elector of Bavaria, who notifies to me that he has given instructions for the regiments of the States to enter the fortresses, evacuated according to our convention, so that this measure will have undoubtedly been already executed. He likewise writes to me, that he should wish to borrow a considerable sum from the States, to be employed on the works of the fortifications. I have replied to him, that I thought it probable that the States might be induced to consent to it on the terms of which you spoke at Loo with Count Bergheyek. For my part, I think this operation absolutely necessary.

Matters went off well yesterday and to-day in the House of Commons with respect to my revenues, which were fixed, during my lifetime, at the sum of 700,000*l.* As for the affair of the troops it will probably not be discussed till after the Christmas holidays.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, $\frac{\text{Dec. 24. 1697.}}{\text{Jan. 3. 1698.}}$

What the French ambassadors have said to you, that something must be done by the Republic, France, and me, towards maintaining the peace, surprises me much; and I am of opinion with you, that it relates to the guarantee between the Emperor, the Empire, and us. The Earl of Portland will readily be able to get to the bottom of this affair in France; and this is a further reason for hastening his departure as much as possible.

Parliament has just adjourned till Thursday next. Thus it will not be possible, before that time, to judge what may be resolved with respect to the troops to be retained.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, $\frac{7}{17}$ January, 1698.

On Tuesday, while I was engaged in writing to you, a fire broke out in Whitehall, and reduced the principal portion of the Palace to ashes. This loss would be greater to any other person than to me, because I could not reside there. However, the loss is considerable; but there is no remedy, and we have nothing left but to pray to God to preserve us in future from such accidents.

I believe that the House of Commons will again deliberate to-morrow on the disbanding of the troops.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Kensington, January 10–20. 1698.

I send you herewith the letter for the Dauphin. I am much vexed that the wind and weather are still contrary; God grant that they may change by the day after to-morrow, and that you may have a favourable passage. I assure you that I am more affected by your departure than you can conceive, and if you felt as much pain on leaving me, as I did on witnessing your departure, I should be quite satisfied, and I might then hope that you would no longer doubt the solemn oath which I have pledged to you. This is unquestionably the truest word I ever uttered in my life, and death alone can make me change my feelings.*

* It is almost impossible to show the precise point to which these remarkable words of King William relate. They are doubtless an allusion to the Earl of Portland's jealousy of the king's daily increasing favour for Lord Albemarle. Arnold Jost Keppel was the son of Pellant, Lord of Keppel, one of the most ancient and eminent families among the nobility of Guelderland, by a daughter of Opdam, one of the chief lords of the states of Holland. He was born in 1670, and attended King William into England, being page of honour; and as he rose rapidly to the highest degree of favour, "the highest," says Burnet, "that any person had ever attained about the king," he was soon made one of the grooms of his bed-chamber and master of the robes, and, in February, 1697, created Baron Ashford, Viscount Bury, and Earl of Albemarle. "By a quick and unaccountable progress," adds Burnet, "he seemed to have engrossed the royal favour so entirely, that he disposed of every thing that was in the king's power. The Earl of Portland observed the progress of this favour with great uneasiness; they grew to be not only

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, January 11–21. 1698.

I am not surprised that the French revert to their favourite custom of cavilling on every point,

incompatible, as all rivals for favour must needs be, but to hate and oppose one another in every thing. The one had more of the confidence, and the other more of the favour." The Earl of Portland, solely devoted to his master, had not the art of making himself beloved; and above all, he had not condescended to make himself agreeable to the petty court which surrounded King William, and found in him an obstacle to their designs of governing the king. Sunderland more especially regarded with an envious eye the exclusive confidence which he enjoyed; and, in conjunction with Lady Orkney and her brother, Lord Villiers, had aided in the elevation of Keppel, more especially as the latter, says Burnet, "was so given up to his own pleasures, that he could scarce submit to the attendance and drudgery that was necessary to maintain his post. He had never yet been distinguished in any thing," and the cabal were in hopes to make him a pliant tool. Moreover, as Burnet adds, "he was a cheerful young man, that had the art to please. He was not cold or dry, as the Earl of Portland was thought to be, who seemed to have the art of creating many enemies to himself, and not one friend. But the Earl of Albemarle had all the arts of a court, was civil to all, and procured many favours." Though the partiality of the king for his new favourite was to a certain extent irresistible, he took care to soothe the jealousy of Portland. "I am told," writes Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury, Feb. 16. 1697, "the king intends to give my Lord Strafford's garter to my Lord Portland. My Lord Privy Seal (Lord Pembroke), I hear, has solicited for it; but it is supposed this is conferred upon my Lord Portland, at this time of the Earl of Albemarle's promotion, to show he is still preferred a step above him." It would appear, as will afterwards be seen, that Portland was so dissatisfied at the favour shown to his rival, that he

and of attempting to bring forward new pretensions. They are but too well informed of every thing that passes here. Among other matters, the resolution adopted to-day, in the committee of the House of Commons, to grant me, for the current year, only 350,000*l.* for the maintenance of the troops, will contribute not a little to render them more haughty and more exorbitant, and perhaps even lead them to form plans which they would never have thought of; for with this sum I am hardly in a condition to maintain more than ten thousand men.*

had taken the resolution, which he carried into effect a year later, to withdraw from the court and all his occupations, and that he only consented to remain on certain conditions, which the king alludes to in this letter. It was with reluctance that he had made up his mind to accept the embassy to Paris, an office which he alone could properly discharge, being the sole possessor of King William's private confidence and of state secrets. But, on the other hand, Portland was led to think that the embassy in question was nothing but an honourable means of removing him and relieving the king from the presence of an importunate servant. His fears were well founded, for we shall see that Albemarle and his friends especially well knew how to profit by the absence of Portland.

* Upon entering into a consideration of the king's speech, the first resolution of the Commons was, on Dec. 11., "that all the land forces of this kingdom that have been raised since the 29th of Sept. 1680, shall be paid and disbanded." Two days after they passed a vote, "that it be an instruction to the committee who were to consider of the supply, that they should likewise consider of a gratuity, to be given to such officers and soldiers of the English army who were or should be disbanded." On Dec. 17., they appointed several members to prepare and bring a bill to regulate the militia, and make them more useful; and the next day they resolved, "that 10,000 men are necessary

However, there is no prospect of being able to obtain more this session; hence you will readily conceive how much this must annoy me, and how greatly I am embarrassed as to the course which I have now to take. You cannot form an idea of the indifference with which all foreign affairs are now considered. People here only busy themselves about a fanciful liberty, while they are forced to acknowledge that they never were so free, and have nothing to apprehend from me. I see in all this only a chastisement of Heaven, which blinds honest men, and permits the wicked to prosper in their designs.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Kensington, January 21–31. 1698.

I hope that you have arrived happily to-day at Paris, as you had intended. I have very little to

for a summer and winter guard at sea, for the year 1698." On Jan. 14., the Commons agreed to the resolutions which had been taken in a grand committee about the supply, "that a sum not exceeding 350,000*l.* be granted to his Majesty for maintaining guards and garrisons for the year 1698; that a supply be granted to his Majesty for the speedy paying and disbanding the army." The army then consisted of 17,656 foot, and 6876 horse and dragoons. On the 18., they came to the following resolution, "that provision be made for giving half-pay to the commission officers (his Majesty's natural-born subjects of England) till the said officers shall be fully paid off and cleared and be otherwise provided for."—*Parl. Hist.*, vol. v.

write to you at present. Vernon * informs you of what is most essential, both with respect to the grants which have been made to Queen Mary †, and to what is passing in Parliament, where animosities are so increasing every day, that it is impossible to tell what will be the issue. You know by experience that such things sometimes turn out well; but they may also turn out ill, and we cannot be certain of any thing before the end of the session. This much is certain, that I shall have only 350,000*l.* for the maintenance of the troops for this year, and we must make it go as far as possible. A hope is still entertained of an increase in the number of regiments of marines; but this is very uncertain. It is, however, to be decided in a few days. The resolution they have taken to give half pay to the officers who are to be discharged is good, inasmuch as it will enable me to have the regiments speedily reassembled in case of need. You will doubtless be annoyed that your name has again been mentioned in the House of

* Sir William Trumbull had, on the 1st of Dec. 1697, resigned the seals of secretary of state, which were conferred on Mr. James Vernon, who had formerly been secretary to the Duke of Monmouth, and, since the Revolution, chief clerk to the Duke of Shrewsbury, under whom he had for several years managed all the affairs of the Duke's office.

† The Commons did this year design to apply part of all the forfeited estates to the use of the public; in order to which they inquired into the grants made by King Charles II. and King James II., and ordered a bill to be brought in to make them void. Afterwards they examined the grants made by his present Majesty in Ireland.—*Parl. Hist.*, vol. v.

Commons on occasion of the grants; but you need not be uneasy on that score, since the matter will either fall to the ground of itself, or will turn to your advantage. I have found an expression in one of your letters from Dover which has greatly hurt me. I entreat you not to decide according to your thoughts only, but to wait till I see you. The affairs of this world are subject to many changes. I cannot explain myself more clearly at present on this subject than by assuring you that I always entertain for you the same affection.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, January 21–31. 1698.

I have already informed you, by the last post, that affairs were going on badly in Parliament. There are men of a singular turn of mind, who give the tone there. I shall be obliged to content myself with the sum voted by the House of Commons for the support of the troops during the current year. I shall get on with it as well as I can. It is fortunate, however, that they have resolved to give half-pay to all the officers who shall be disbanded. I estimate their number at 1500, or nearly so; so that if we could afford it, we should have the means of forming again a considerable army; and many persons think that another Parliament will be more disposed to do so. What annoys me especially is that they will not allow me to retain some of my regiments of Dutch guards in the pay

of this country, while we shall be much embarrassed to find some means of getting them re-admitted into the service of the Republic. In this case, in order to meet the expense of their pay, without causing a new outlay to the States, it will be necessary to sacrifice the six Scotch regiments and a few Swiss regiments besides.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, $\frac{\text{January 28.}}{\text{February 7.}}$ 1698.

I am much vexed at learning the extreme confusion which prevails in the affairs of Brabant, without having any hope of applying the slightest remedy to it, for there is nothing to be expected on the part of Spain. If the difference concerning Schonenberg * were adjusted, our ministers at the

* Schonenberg, a Jew by birth, publicly known as such at Amsterdam by the name of Belmont, and, by being born at Antwerp, a natural subject of the king of Spain, had, so long ago as the year 1678, been sent to Madrid, in quality of agent to the Prince of Orange, to solicit the payment of such sums, as for subsidies and services were due from that court to his Highness. Every body knows how obnoxious the Jews are in Spain; and it is easy to conceive, that neither the family, nor the religion, nor the claims of the prince his master could lessen the prejudices which Schonenberg had to struggle with on that account. By dint of importunity, however, and the favour of the times, which helped to make his master of consequence to the court of Spain, he succeeded in his suit; but he rendered himself out of measure obnoxious to the Spanish

Court of Madrid would, at least, be able to act. I have heard nothing of it since I left Holland. If means can be found to arrange it, I will afford, on my part, all possible facilities. You will do well to speak to Quiros* about it. As it appears more and more evident, that Sweden will throw herself entirely into the arms of France, I should like the negotiations with Denmark to be pressed. But, as for obtaining subsidies in this country,

Court. Notwithstanding which, on the death of the Dutch envoy, he was appointed to succeed him, and on the strength of his additional character, became more busy, more arrogant, and of course more obnoxious than ever; and so disagreeable to the ministers, that they thought fit to remonstrate in strong terms against him and his conduct, and insisted on his being recalled. But Schonenberg remained, and continued to act in the same manner as before; so that they had no other resort but some such personal misconduct as should authorise them to rid themselves of his presence; and it was not long before his indiscretion furnished them with the opportunity they waited for. "Sunday last was seven-night, wrote the British minister, Alexander Stanhope, to Admiral Russell, (Madrid, Sept. 27. 1695,) the conductor of ambassadors was sent with a message from the king to M. Schonenberg, to leave Madrid in six days, and they will receive no more papers from or treat with him; the motive being some disrespectful offices of his in a late memorial, and having done ill offices relating to the Dutch ships in the fleet." As he took no notice of this command, he was arrested in his house, and forcibly carried to a place three leagues out of Madrid, where he was left. King William forbade the Spanish ambassador to present any memorial, or to make his appearance at the court, till satisfaction was given him with respect to the violence which had been offered to the person of his ambassador.

* Don Bernardo Quiros, ambassador of Spain to the States-General.

in time of peace, it is wholly impracticable. Endeavour on your part to urge forward the negotiations as much as possible. I desire also that you should sound Bonde and Lillieroot *, as to whether the king of Sweden would like to have the Order of the Garter, which I am very much disposed to confer on him. The proposition which has been made to you by Fettau, respecting the arming of the Circles, is good, but in my opinion it will meet with more obstacles than the proposal of association. For the rest, that which is most easy of execution will be most agreeable to me, for my sole object is, to see the Empire in arms, and, if that be not done forthwith, nothing will come of it. As for a general guarantee for peace, I see, in reality, but little prospect of it. France will certainly not fail to interfere. The Earl of Portland will probably soon be informed on this point. I have not received any news from him since his arrival in Paris.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, February 1–11. 1698.

Stepney † has already set out, and will probably be now in Holland. He has orders to be guided by

* Count Bonde was the colleague of Baron Lillieroot, as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the king of Sweden, at the congress of Ryswick. Both remained at the Hague as ambassadors to the States-General.

† Stepney was sent as minister of England to the court of the Elector of Brandenburg.

your instructions. You will do well, I think, to tell him to allege, as the principal object of his mission to Berlin, the affair of Neufchâtel. I am, in fact, of opinion, that he should make a tour thither to give weight to my reclamations respecting that country. I confess, however, that I have no great opinion of all this affair, and that there is but little appearance that I shall ever be put in possession of it without making war on France.* The greatest precaution must be used not to compromise ourselves too much with that power, which would not suit us, under present circumstances.

Mr. van Dyckyelt communicates to me, in detail, his causes of uneasiness concerning the Elector of Cologne. I have likewise many apprehensions on that subject. It would be well to think of some means to keep that prince in the good path, for, if he were to take the part of France, great injury to the Republic would certainly be the result. Experience has shown what we should have to fear for it from that quarter.

* As representative of the house of Nassau-Orange, King William maintained that, at the death of the Duchess of Nemours, then far advanced in years, the right to the inheritance of the county of Neufchâtel, which was contested by numerous claimants, principally French, devolved on him. It was bestowed upon the king of Prussia in 1707, as heir of the two houses of Nassau-Orange and of Chalons, whose rights to it were the strongest.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Kensington, February 1–11. 1698.

I can no longer defer writing to you, though I have received no letters from you since your arrival in Paris. I am momentarily in expectation of them, as I am very desirous to know the reason why I have received no news from you, for I am convinced that you have written, as I well know your habitual punctuality.

I have nothing to communicate to you at present from this place. You will learn what passes in Parliament from others, and from the newspapers. There is nothing particular to tell you, nor can I offer an opinion as to when the session may terminate, or in what manner. You know this country well enough to be aware that nothing can be judged of till the end. I am greatly astonished that the Duke of St. Albans* has not yet returned. He

* William III. having received a notification by letter of the Duke of Burgundy's marriage on the 21st of December, he despatched the Duke of St. Albans that day se'nnight with his felicitations on that occasion. Gazette, No. 3351.

Charles Beauclerc, Duke of St. Albans, was a natural son of Charles II. and Mrs. Eleanor Gwyn. He was at that time one of the lords of the bed-chamber.

" Le Roi d'Angleterre était au comble de satisfaction de se voir enfin reconnu par le Roi, et paisible sur ce trône; mais un usurpateur n'est jamais tranquille et content. Il était blessé du séjour du roi légitime et de sa famille à St. Germain. C'était trop à portée du Roi, et trop près d'Angleterre pour le laisser sans inquiétude. Il avait fait tous ses efforts, tant à Ryswick que dans les conférences de Portland, pour obtenir leur sortie du

must be amusing himself where he is. This is all I have to say at present, and that I am yours very affectionately.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Kensington, February 3–13. 1698.

It was only yesterday that I received your letter from Paris, dated the 5th. I am very glad to learn that you have been so well received everywhere, and more especially to hear the favourable assurances which his Most Christian Majesty has given you respecting me. You may continue to assure him, that I desire nothing more than to live in close communion and correspondence with him; and that I hope he will facilitate the means of my doing so. I am likewise glad that he has permitted you to pay your court to him without your official capacity. It is therefore my wish that you should be at Versailles as often as you can; and it cannot but be agreeable to you that every body pays you

royaume, tout au moins leur éloignement de la cour. Il avait trouvé le Roi inflexible; il voulut essayer tout, et voir si, n'en faisant plus une condition, puisqu'il avait passé carrière, et comblant le Roi de prévenances et de regrets, il ne pourrait pas obtenir ce fruit de ses souplesses. Dans cette vue il envoya le duc de St. Albans, chevalier de la jarretière, complimenter le Roi sur le mariage de monseigneur le duc de Bourgogne. Il ne pouvait choisir un homme plus marqué pour une simple commission: on fut surpris même qu'il l'eut acceptée. Il était bâtard de Charles II., et c'était encore là une raison de s'en excuser."—*Mémoires de Saint-Simon*, vol. iii. p. 145., edit. 1840.

so many courtesies. I do not know whether you may not even be permitted to go occasionally to Marly, which you must not neglect to do.

I suppose you have written to me by way of Holland, but, in consequence of the contrary wind, two mails are due at present. I do not doubt that I shall likewise have letters from you by the Duke of St. Albans, who has not yet arrived. I am very curious to know what you think of the manners and bustle of the country where you now are, and which must be so different from those where you are accustomed to live. I dare say you will soon follow the chase, and visit the gardens, of both of which you know I am very fond.

It is surprising, that in a country so liable to changes, as you well know, there is nothing new to communicate to you. Business in Parliament makes no progress, and till this inquiry into exchequer bills* is finished there will be no other of import-

* "The false endorsement of exchequer bills was such a scandalous practice, that it took up much of the Commons' time to inquire into it and reform it. These exchequer bills were of mighty use in the nation, by supplying the scarcity of money during the recoining of the silver species. Now, because there was an interest of 7*l.* 12*s.* per annum allowed upon the second issuing the said bills out of the exchequer, after they had been paid in on any of the King's taxes,—whereas at their first issuing out of the exchequer they bore no interest;—this encouraged several of the King's officers, both in the exchequer, the customs, and the excise, to contrive together to get great sums of money by false endorsements on the exchequer bills, before they had circulated about and been brought into any branch of his Majesty's revenue. The most considerable persons that had carried on

ance, though they resolved yesterday to devote four days in the week to the supply and the ways and means; but you know how such resolutions are carried into execution. We hear no more of Lord Sunderland than if he were not in the world, though there are persons who build many castles in the air, of which more hereafter.

P. S.—I do not know whether the worthy Gourville* is still in a state to be seen. If he is, I wish

this unwarrantable practice were, Mr. Charles Duncombe, receiver-general of the excise; Mr. John Knight, treasurer of the customs; Mr. Bartholomew Burton, who had a place in the excise office; and Mr. Reginald Marryot, one of the deputy-tellers of the exchequer; which last, to get his pardon, compounded to accuse the rest. Upon a full proof of the matter, Duncombe and Knight, who were members of the House of Commons, were first expelled the house, and committed prisoners to the Tower; Burton was sent to Newgate, and bills were ordered to be brought in to punish them. The bill against Duncombe, whereby a fine of nearly half his estate (which was judged to be worth 400,000*l.*) was set upon him, did quickly pass the Commons, notwithstanding the opposition that was made to it, particularly by the attorney-general (sir Thomas Trevor); but being sent up to the Lords, and their lordships being equally divided, the Duke of Leeds gave his casting vote for the rejecting of the bill. Mr. Duncombe being set at liberty by the order of the House of Lords, without the consent of the Commons, the latter resented it to that degree, that they caused him to be remanded to the Tower, where he continued to the end of the session. The bills against Knight and Burton had the same fate; and so all those threatening clouds, that seemed ready to crush the false endorsers, spent themselves in vapour and noise."—*Parl. Hist.*, vol. v.

* For some curious particulars regarding this remarkable personage and his relation to King William III., see the Appendix.

you would visit him, and give my compliments to him, as he is one of my oldest acquaintances.

THE EARL OF PORTLAND TO WILLIAM III.*

Paris, February 16. 1698.

Since the letter which I had the honour to write to your Majesty by the Duke of St. Albans, the

* As the preceding letters of Portland have been probably lost, we supply their contents by the following extracts of a manuscript of the Royal Library in Paris (Suppl. fr. No. 490.): *Journal de l'ambassade extraordinaire de son Excellence Mylord Comte de Portland par rapport au cérémonial.*

"On the 20th of January, 1698, his Excellency the Earl of Portland, Ambassador Extraordinary of his Britannic Majesty at the Court of France, left Whitehall, and having crossed the Thames and found his carriages at Lambeth, went to Rochester, where he dined, and slept at Sittingbourne. On the 21st, his Excellency having passed through Canterbury without stopping, arrived at Dover at four o'clock in the afternoon. His Excellency remained at Dover during the 22d on account of the contrary wind, and embarked on the 23rd. There being very little wind, they made no progress except by means of the tide, so that his Excellency did not arrive at Calais till nine o'clock in the evening. He landed by moonlight, and on quitting the shallop was received by M. de la Tour, Commandant of Calais, who took him in his carriage to his house, where he was to lodge.

On the 24th, his Excellency hired the requisite carriages and horses, for the great number of persons who accompanied him. He himself travelled in the chariot in which he had come from London to Dover, and which had crossed the sea at the same time with us. At Calais his Excellency was met by one of his equerries, with several carriages and saddle horses that had been sent from Holland. On quitting the residence

Marshal Boufflers has taken an opportunity of speaking to me of the surprise and indignation which I

of the Commandant, his Excellency found the garrison under arms, lining the streets through which he was to pass. About two hundred paces from the town, opposite Fort Nieulet, a regiment of cavalry was drawn up in battle array ; all the guns of the fort were fired, and the infantry who garrisoned it lined the ramparts on the side which we passed : the officers saluted his Lordship by taking off their hats. His Excellency slept that night at Boulogne. On the 25th, his Excellency went to sleep at Montreuil. The guns were fired at his entrance, and the wine of the country was presented to his Lordship. On the 26th he stopped at Montreuil, because it was Sunday; his Excellency heard a sermon preached by Dr. Fall, one of his chaplains. On the 27th, his Excellency slept at Abbeville. On entering the city, he found some cavalry assembled before the gate, and a guard of 100 foot was given him. On the 28th, he slept at Amiens. At the distance of a quarter of a league from the city, he met two squadrons of cavalry in battle array, headed by the King's lieutenant, who alighted from his horse to pay his respects to his Excellency, as he descended for a moment from his carriage. When the carriage proceeded, one of the squadrons placed itself in front, and the other behind it. Thus they advanced to the gate of the city, where the Intendant, M. Bigon, was awaiting the arrival of his Excellency in his carriage; he alighted from it on the approach of my Lord, who likewise alighted, descended from his chariot, and embraced the Intendant. His Excellency immediately re-entered his carriage, and found a double file of Swiss infantry drawn up from the gate of the city to the residence of the Intendant, which is at a great distance. He entered the city amid a salute from the guns of the citadel. On the 29th, his Excellency left Amiens amid the roar of cannon, between the two files of Swiss soldiers which were drawn up from the residence of the Intendant to the gate of the city, and, at the distance of 300 paces, squadrons were drawn up in battle array. His Lordship dined that day at Breteuil and slept at St. Just.

had expressed, rather publicly, at seeing the Duke of Berwick, &c. at Versailles; on which occasion I

On the 30th his Excellency dined at Creil, and slept at Lusarche, where he met his son (Lord Woodstock), who had come from Holland to Paris a few days before. His Excellency likewise met, at Lusarche, M. d'Allonne, whom he had sent to Paris a month before our departure, to make several arrangements. Lastly his Excellency found at Lusarche an equerry of Marshal Boufflers, with a carriage drawn by eight horses, and several footmen belonging to the same Marshal. On the 31st, his Excellency, seated in the carriage of Marshal Boufflers, went to dine at St. Denis, when he saw the church and the treasury, and at four o'clock in the afternoon he went to Paris, to the Hôtel d'Auvergne, in the Rue de la Planche, which had been prepared for him. The Prince being then at Berghem-op-Zoom, had offered this palace to the King, completely furnished, as a residence for his Excellency; but as it was not sufficiently spacious, it was found necessary to erect a large dining room in the garden, which was finished in three weeks time. All the nobles and gentlemen were accommodated in furnished lodgings, as near the hotel as was possible. There was not room in the stables of the Hôtel d'Auvergne for more than ten or twelve horses, and as his Excellency had about ninety carriage and saddle horses, stables were hired for the remainder in the immediate vicinity. On the evening of his arrival, his Lordship was visited by Marshal Boufflers and the Duke de Gramont. On the 1st of February, my Lord dined with Marshal Boufflers. On the same day his Excellency sent Mr. Prior, Secretary to the Embassy, to Versailles, to pay his respects to M. de Torcy, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and to announce his arrival. His Lordship at the same time informed him that, as the ice prevented the vessel which had on board his state equipage and three of his carriages, from ascending the Seine, it was impossible for him to make his public entry so soon as he had intended; and he therefore requested M. de Torcy to procure him a private audience of his Most Christian Majesty. Mr. Prior at the same time delivered a copy of his Lordship's

had said that the blood boiled in my veins at their approach, and that I hoped there was no in-

credentials, and one of his own commission. The private audience was fixed for the 4th of February. On the 3rd, his Lordship supped with the Duke de Gramont. This entertainment was a fête, which had been long in preparation, and to which the Duke had invited a large number of the principal noblemen of the court of France. On Tuesday, his Excellency went to Versailles with Marshal Boufflers, in the Marshal's carriage; Lord Woodstock and M. d'Allonne followed in his Excellency's carriage. His Excellency having been some moments in the apartment of Marshal Boufflers, where he alighted, M. de Torcy came to meet him. About nine o'clock his Lordship went to have an audience of the King, being presented by M. de Torcy and M. Sainctot, conductor of ambassadors. The King received him in his cabinet, the Marquis de Torcy alone being present; M. Sainctot remained at the door with my Lord Woodstock and M. d'Allonne, whom his Excellency presented to the King, after the audience. His Excellency then had an audience of MONSEIGNEUR the dauphin, and afterwards of the Duke of Burgundy, with whom were the Dukes of Anjou and Berri. At eleven o'clock his Excellency had an audience of MONSIEUR and immediately afterwards of MADAME; that of the Duchess of Burgundy having been put off till one o'clock in the afternoon, his Excellency profited by the interim to pay a visit to M. de Torcy. At one o'clock his Lordship had an audience of the Duchess of Burgundy, after which he dined with the Marquis de Torcy, and in the evening returned to Paris, after having likewise paid a visit to M. de Pomponne, the principal secretary of state for foreign affairs. On the 7th, M. de Pomponne came to pay a visit to my Lord, and as soon as he went away M. de Torcy entered. On the 9th, his Excellency went to Versailles to attend the King's levee, and on the same day paid a visit to the Duke de Beauvillier, and to M. de Ponchartrain, who afterwards called to return the courtesy to his Excellency. On the 11th there was a grand supper and ball at M. de Mortangis, to which his Excellency was invited. On the 13th, his Excellency went to pay his court at the

tention of accustoming me to see the assassins of the king my master. He attempted to soften this in a way which led me to infer that my words had been reported, and that he spoke to me by command. For this reason I deemed it necessary to state still more fully what I thought of the residence of King James in France *, and of their tolerating and maintaining in this country villains who had attempted your life; which was not conformable with what we had agreed upon, nor with what the King had done me the honour to express to me. He replied that I could not say that he had pledged the word of the king his master to oblige King James to quit his kingdom, and that I was too honest a man, and too much his friend to urge him so far as to say anything of the kind. Upon this I told him that I had not been able to require this promise of him, since he was not in a condition

Palais Royal to MONSIEUR and to MADAME, and afterwards had an audience of the Duke of Chartres. On the 14th, his Excellency went to visit the Prince de Condé, in his hotel at Paris. On the same evening, his Excellency went to the Palais Royal, where, after having seen MONSIEUR, in whose apartments they were at play, he had an audience of MADEMOISELLE in her apartment. On the 15th, his Excellency sent to M. de Torcy, to request an audience of the King, which was fixed for the 17th. On that day his Excellency went to Versailles, and had a long audience of the King in his cabinet, which turned upon business.

* 14 Février.—"Milord Portland n'a point encore parlé d'affaires au Roi ni à ses ministres, mais il a témoigné à plusieurs que le roi son maître apprenait avec peine que le Roi voulut toujours laisser le roi Jacques à St. Germain; il aurait bien souhaité qu'il fût plus éloigné d'ici."—*Dangeau.*

to give it me on the spot, and I repeated the conversation which we had had on the subject word for word, and I assured him that I was sufficiently his friend not to speak of it to any person, without necessity, if it gave him pain, but that I found myself compelled to do so. I begged him to believe that I had the interest and the service of the king my master more at heart than all my friends put together, and that in a case like this, I would say so to the Most Christian King himself, in his presence, that he might be a witness that I added nothing of my own.

He again urged me much to induce me to change my mind; but when he found me resolute, he altered his tone, and said that it would be too ungracious to urge this affair thus strongly, and that if anything was to be done, it would be better to leave the King to act according to his own judgment; and, instead of demanding this as a thing agreed upon, it would be advisable to make a representation, and to accommodate or adjust the affair by forbearance or negotiation.

I replied that I did not think it was proper to enter into negotiations on a matter respecting which both sides had so fully explained themselves, and without which I had declared from the first that peace could not subsist; that on concluding our interview we had talked over the place to which King James should retire: I had proposed Rome, and he Avignon; but that I would willingly comply with the wishes of the King in the carrying out of the plan, and he should do it in such a way as he judged

most conformable with his glory and his honour, provided it were done; and of this I could not, and would not doubt, after what the King had done me the honour to express to me, in general terms, on which I implicitly relied; I added that I should have wished to speak to himself and to demand the fulfilment of his words. After this we parted with many civilities.

Soon after, Marshal Villeroy came to me and entered on the same subject, to which I replied in somewhat similar terms, and remarked that he was too well informed of all the particulars not to have received instructions, a circumstance which obliged me to speak to him in the same tone, and not to leave him the slightest hope that I could at all give way, or change my sentiments. As his address is highly polished, he spoke to me in a very mild and insinuating manner. He told me that the motive which influenced the King was that of compassion and pity, which must also touch your Majesty's heart; that if there were persons who were suspected of such enormous crimes as assassination, this had not appeared clear, and that the King ought to be informed of it, for that certainly he would not tolerate them; that the Duke of Berwick* had come over in conse-

* The Duke of Berwick was the son of the Duke of York, afterwards James II., and of Arabella Churchill. He went secretly into England, in 1696, to prepare the restoration of James II.; and, as it was during the time sir G. Barclay meditated the murder of William III., he was involved in the number of the conspirators.

quence of the affair of the invasion, and that sir George Barclay was paid off with his company.

I told him that time had sufficiently shown that your Majesty had had more compassion and pity on all occasions, than could have been expected; that you had especially proved it in this case, by consenting, without any obligation, to grant so large a sum for the support of King James, after what he had seen so often done—to attempt your life; and that I was greatly surprised at his saying "if there were persons who might be suspected of assassination," for that it was a matter too clearly proved to all the world for any one to question it; that many persons had been executed for this crime who had not only confessed it before their death, but who had even had the audacity and inveterate malice to maintain that they did not repent of it; that we had it from Goodman*, who had confessed it in my presence,

"Sir G. Barclay," says Kennet, "who had formerly been a general officer, and was then an officer in King James's guards, came over into England (December, 1695), and brought with him a commission from the late king 'to attack and seize the Prince of Orange in his winter quarters;' or, as others report, 'to levy war upon the Prince of Orange and all his adherents.'"

* Goodman was one of the two witnesses on whose evidence Cooke had been condemned, and on whom depended the conviction of Sir John Fenwick. He was a man of infamous character, and on the eve of the trial he was bribed, and disappeared. He retired to France, where he remained till after the peace. As he seemed now impatient to return, it was suspected that his intention was to put himself under the protection of the Earl of Portland, when he arrived. Therefore Lord Middleton, as appears from a letter to M. de Torcy,

and yet, notwithstanding all this, these monsters were tolerated and kept in service here, a thing which had never been done in any other place in the world; that I could not entertain the slightest doubt of the pledge which the King had given me in general, and that if he was not so well informed of the fact as I could wish him to be, I was persuaded that as soon as I should have the honour of speaking with him on the subject, he would deliver those assassins into your Majesty's hand, in order that they might be punished as their enormous crime deserved; that, with respect to the Duke of Berwick, if he had been in England only on account of the invasion, he would not have been considered so much of a traitor as other rebels, but that it was thought that he was cognisant of the conspiracy, and that, on that account, his name had been inserted in the proclamation and a reward promised to those who should arrest him.

On taking leave, the Marshal Villeroy told me that he was obliged to go to Versailles, of which he had said nothing before, though it would have been *à propos;* this confirmed me in my supposition, and made me think that he was going to give a report of our conversation.

I judged it best not to be too urgent for an audience, but to wait a few days, to see the re-

printed in Macpherson (Jan. 19. 1698), desired, in his master's name, he should be secured. The same precautions were taken against any one of the Court of St. Germains who became suspicious. Goodman was arrested, and sent a prisoner to Dauphine, where he remained many years.

sults of my conversations. But as I had waited till Saturday, without hearing anything, — for Marshal Villeroy had not returned, and on Marshal Boufflers, who had come back, telling me that he would not interfere in the case, as he was not minister,—I despatched d'Allonne * to Versailles, to M. de Torcy, requesting an audience, and was informed in reply that he would let me know the day on which the King would grant it.

All this leads me to infer, Sire, that I have nothing favourable to expect in regard to what I shall demand, on your part, from his Most Christian Majesty, and, as it is uncertain when I shall have an audience, I have no longer liked to delay giving you an account of what has passed hitherto.

After I had written my letter thus far, the Marquis de Torcy sent me word that the King would grant me an audience to-morrow morning; this induces me to detain the express till I have had it, in order to add what has passed.

February 17.

I repaired this morning to Versailles and saw the King. In order the better to inform your Majesty of what I said, I send you annexed the contents.

After I had done speaking, the King said that he

* D'Allonne, as well as Robertson, appear to have been French refugees, and private secretaries to King William. Both he and Robertson were great favourites of the Earl of Portland, but particularly the last, whose name occurs so frequently in Macpherson's Original Papers, as the trusty confident of the Brunswick family.

could not imagine why I required that he should oblige King James to withdraw—that he was his near relation; that he was affected by his misfortunes; that he had assisted him so long, that, in honour, he could not send him away: he added, that Marshal Boufflers had positively declared the same thing in our conferences, and that upon this I had desisted from my demand; and that we ought to be satisfied with his word of honour that he would not assist him, and would sincerely preserve the peace.

I replied that he had no cause to be touched with compassion for the withdrawal of King James, since your Majesty had engaged to give him, or the Queen, his wife, about 50,000*l.* per annum, in order that he might live elsewhere, and that if he refused to withdraw on these terms, it could only be in the hope of employing this money to excite disturbances, or in some more nefarious project; that your Majesty expected this withdrawal as a thing agreed upon, since the only reason why I had not continued to insist on having this point inserted in a clause of the peace, was consideration for his Most Christian Majesty, and that your Majesty had been anxious not to exact from him a thing which might be disagreeable; but that I had positively declared that unless King James withdrew, the peace could not be lasting.

I reminded him that, in the first instance, after the conversation, he had asked me whither you wished the King to withdraw, to which I had replied "Rome or Modena," upon which he enquired

whether Avignon might not be a suitable place? to which I consented. I said that whatever confidence your Majesty might place in the word of his Most Christian Majesty, you could not rely upon what did not depend upon him; as, for instance, as to what seditious persons in England might undertake. Moreover the English nation would be in a state of perpetual distrust respecting the continuance of the peace, and that, from the manner in which the Government was constituted, the Parliament would not be induced to do what was necessary to ensure its continuance, and that the principal means to effect this object was the withdrawal of King James. To all this the King replied, that he would absolutely never take the step of obliging King James to withdraw.

After this I reminded his Most Christian Majesty that he had not given me any reply to the second point upon which I had had the honour of speaking to him; namely, that of the assassins. He said that he did not know them; nor was he aware that there were any here: and that, besides, he was not perfectly acquainted with this affair. I replied that I could well believe that his Majesty did not know any people of this kind, at least in the character of assassins; and, that if he were willing to be informed of the persons and the facts, he had only to let me know in what authentic form he wished me to acquaint him of it, and that I engaged to do so to his satisfaction, before any steps were taken against these individuals. I named to him the principal persons mentioned

in the proclamation.* He answered that the Duke of Berwick could not have been in England, except on account of the invasion; that sir George Barclay was paid off with his company, and that he did not even know where he was; that as for Harrison, he had never heard of him, although I told him that he had been prior of an English convent here; with regard to Birkenhead †, his Majesty said that he had never been employed, except to carry letters. After a short pause he observed that it was useless to say anything more on the subject, since he could make no other reply to either of the points than those which he had already given. Upon this I withdrew.

I must remark to your Majesty, that the Most Christian King spoke to me this time in a much colder tone than at my first audience. From the account which I have given of what passed, your Majesty may judge of the state of things, and give me instructions respecting what I am to do in future; these I very humbly beg you to favour me with.

* King William, on Feb. 22. 1696, published a proclamation, "to discover, take, and apprehend James, Duke of Berwick, sir George Barclay," and twenty-six other individuals of less note, "as wicked and traitorous persons, who had entered into a horrid and detestable conspiracy to assassinate and murder his Majesty's sacred person," with a promise of 1000*l.* reward for every offender that should be taken and brought to justice.

† Birkenhead was at Calais, as appears from a letter from Lord Middleton to M. de Torcy, Jan. 16. 1698.—*Macpherson's Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 573.

I again saw the Duke of Berwick at Versailles this morning; Lord Middleton was also there.*

February 18.

I beg your Majesty to favour me with instructions as soon as possible, as to how I am to act. You see that it is necessary to declare positively that you will not pay King James unless he withdraw. I have spoken in this spirit clearly enough, all along, so that they will not be surprised if you act upon it.† I beg your Majesty not to suffer any Englishmen of King James's party to remain in England, contrary to the act of Parliament; and, if you should assign as the cause of this general refusal, the refusal of King James to withdraw, I believe that this would make them greatly annoyed with him, and perhaps oblige him to retire of his own accord, and assign the money as the reason.

From what I have just stated, your Majesty may see what dependence can be placed upon the peace,

* 17 Février.—"Le Roi donna le matin une audience particulière à Milord Portland; et, comme beaucoup d'anglais qui sont à St. Germain étaient ici, le Roi fit dire à Milord Middleton, qui est le chef du conseil du Roi Jacques, qu'il le priait pour une autre fois d'éviter de se trouver en même temps que l'ambassadeur d'Angleterre."—*Dangeau.*

† "Milord Portland a toujours persisté à dire ici qu'on ne payerait point en Angleterre le douaire de la reine tant qu'elle serait à St. Germain, et qu'on le payerait sûrement si leurs Majestés Britanniques voulaient choisir une autre demeure, qui donnât moins de jalousie."—*Dangeau.* "Sur son départ de Paris, Portland avait affecté de répandre que tant que le Roi Jacques serait à St. Germain, la reine d'Angleterre ne serait point payée du douaire qui lui avait été accordé à la paix, et il tint parole."—*Mémoires de St. Simon.*

and how far we may credit protestations, while actions are so directly opposed to them. Your Majesty knows that this cannot surprise me, as I have expected it ever since you did me the honour to appoint me to this post.

(ENCLOSURE.)

REPRESENTATION OF THE EARL OF PORTLAND TO HIS MOST CHRISTIAN MAJESTY.

I believe, Sire, that your Majesty will not be offended at my addressing you directly, in order to state that the implicit reliance which I place upon the gracious expressions, in which you have done me the honour to assure me of your desire to maintain a sincere friendship with the king my master, does not permit me to doubt that you will remove every obstacle which may disturb it.

It is certain, Sire, that the residence of King James in your kingdom is an obstacle of this nature, and that the king my master, who expects his withdrawal, will have reason to believe that, if it does not take place, the peace which has just been completed is not established upon solid foundations; the more so, since, if that Prince prefers forfeiting the 50,000*l.*, which the king my master is willing to pay him, as an inducement for him to withdraw from France, it is very natural to believe, that it is with a view of supporting a party which he thinks he has in England, and of exciting troubles there; and that he flatters himself with the countenance and protection of your Majesty, especially if you consent to his remaining in France, after the applications which have been made to the contrary by the king my master.

Moreover, Sire, the king my master expects, and has no doubt, that you will deliver up to him the conspirators

who have attempted his life, and whose atrocious crime has been so publicly manifested.

He cannot but think that your Majesty's goodness and kindness have been abused by persons who have implored your protection for assassins, and villains concealing from you the blackness of their crime, notorious as it was, and clearly proved by the testimony of witnesses and their own confessions; for otherwise it is impossible to believe that a prince so just and generous as your Majesty, would tolerate persons so unworthy your protection in opposition to a king, with whom your Majesty declares it to be your intention to maintain, henceforth, inviolable friendship.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Kensington, February 8–18. 1698.

The Duke of St. Albans yesterday delivered to me your letter of the 7th. I am very glad to learn that you continue to receive such attentions*; and, al-

* "Les mêmes raisons qui avaient fait choisir Portland pour conférer avec le maréchal de Boufflers le firent préferer à tout autre pour cette ambassade. On n'en pouvait nommer un plus distingué. Sa suite fut nombreuse et superbe, et sa dépense extrêmement magnifique en table, en chevaux, en livrées, en équipages, en meubles, en habits, en vaisselle, en tout, et avec une recherche et une délicatesse exquises. . . . Portland parut avec un éclat personnel, une politesse, un air du monde et de cour, une galanterie et des graces qui surprirent. Avec cela beaucoup de dignité, même de hauteur, mais avec discernement, et un jugement prompt, sans rien de hasardé. Les Français qui courent à la nouveauté, au bon accueil, à la bonne chère, à la magnificence, en furent charmés. Il les attira, mais avec choix, et en homme instruit de notre cour, et qui ne voulait que bonne compagnie et distinguée. Bientôt il devint à la mode de le voir, de lui donner

though they will not perhaps be followed up by realities of the same kind, yet it is always well to have so much in advance. I think they are so far right in not wishing you to enter upon business before you have had your public audience, though I believe that you might do a good deal underhand, without, however, pushing matters too far; for you know that I dread refusals more than any thing whatever; and the state of affairs here and in all Europe is such, that what they shall think fit to do for me must come from themselves. Certainly, I did not imagine that the Duke of Berwick and Lord Middleton and others would have been allowed to come to Versailles while you were there. I hope that, in time, you may be able to hinder it in future. I should be very much vexed if you were not to see Madame de Maintenon; but I do not imagine that you will succeed in this through the channel of the Countess Gramont*, who is so much attached to the interests of St. Germain.

des fêtes, et de reçevoir de lui des festins. Ce qui est étonnant, c'est que le Roi y donna lieu lui-même, en faisant pour cet ambassadeur ce qui n'avait jamais été fait pour aucun autre. Ainsi fit toute la cour à l'envi. . . . . Portland suivit MONSEIGNEUR à la chasse. Deux fois il alla de Paris à Meudon pour courre le loup, et toutes les deux fois MONSEIGNEUR le retint à souper avec lui. Le Roi lui donna un soir le bougeoir à son coucher, qui est une faveur qui ne se fait qu'aux gens les plus considérables, et que le Roi veut distinguer. Rarement les ambassadeurs se familiarisent à faire leur cour à ces heures, et s'il y en vient il n'arrive presque jamais qu'ils reçoivent cet agrément."—*Mémoires de St. Simon.*

* Daughter of George Hamilton, married to Count Gramont, the hero of the memoirs written by her brother, Anthony Hamilton.

I do not tell you any thing of the proceedings in Parliament, since you will learn these from others, and there is nothing particular to write to you respecting them, save that matters go on badly, and that the parties who had coalesced before you left now impede every thing that concerns the public; as for private individuals, they think only of saving and supporting themselves; they do not trouble themselves about what is passing in other countries, any more than as if there were none in existence. I leave you to make your own reflections, and to shape your measures accordingly. It is impossible to love you more heartily than I do.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, February 11–21. 1698.

I am very much embarrassed about the affair of the Elector of Cologne. We must endeavour to gain Karigh by dint of money; but, as for granting subsidies to the Elector himself, I should not counsel it, because of the consequences. I must speak to you, on this occasion, of the vacant bishopric of Osnaburgh. I am of opinion that it is of consequence to the Republic that a proper person should be appointed. It is said that the Bishop of Munster solicits the vacant see; but that selection would not at all suit us.

You will probably learn from the Earl of Portland himself that he has received, on the part of the king of France, a positive refusal to make King James leave his dominions. It would, perhaps, have

been better not to have begun his negotiations with that subject, for he is now very much embarrassed to know what course to take to proceed any further; and here this affair will not produce the least effect, for the people will neither see nor hear.

THE EARL OF PORTLAND TO WILLIAM III.

Paris, February 22. 1698.

Since I last had the honour to write to your Majesty, I have spoken to M. de Pomponne on the subject of my last audience with his Most Christian Majesty. I gave him as minute an account as I could of what then passed, and left him a copy of the paper which I forwarded to your Majesty. He said that the king his master could not fail to be highly gratified with the manner in which I had spoken to him, and he reiterated the assurances that they desired to maintain a perfect peace and close alliance with your Majesty; that, with respect to King James, proximity of blood, compassion and pity, caused him to regard with pain the request made of him, and that his honour revolted from doing an act of which all the world had spoken openly, affirming that I had come with orders to have King James sent away and to demand the conspirators.

I replied that both these points were of such a nature that, after peace was concluded, every body, especially in England and Holland, had regarded

them as inevitable consequences, and as points which would have been carried into effect before my arrival in this country. I said that it was natural to expect that this would be publicly spoken of, since every thing relative to the continuation of peace was so interesting to people in every country, who had their eyes fixed on the kings our masters, and justly considered that the security and the maintenance of peace depended upon the terms which subsisted between your Majesties; and that it would be difficult, nay impossible, to imagine that they could be persuaded of the sincere desire of its preservation on bare assertions and protestations, while they saw that results did not correspond with words; that, as for the assurances which they were ready to give me, that the residence of King James in France should not be injurious to your Majesty, they could only have reference to the aid which his Most Christian Majesty told me he would never give him, but that it was impossible for the king his master to answer for the injury which the residence of that Prince in this country might do in England, and that your Majesty was the best judge of what was expedient in your own kingdom; that the manner in which English rebels were permitted to come to court daily, even when I was there, gave rise to reflections and observations among all persons, but especially the English and Dutch now here; but that what would probably occasion much more talk would be the refusal of his Most Christian Majesty to give up assassins, nay even to tolerate them in his kingdom; and that, as soon

as this should be known, a bad impression would inevitably be produced, since this was not suffered in any other part of the world.

I complained that, besides this, very little confidence had been shown on all occasions; that every letter which I had written, or caused to be written to Holland, on private or domestic affairs, had been stopped and opened, and added, that I could show them the covers which had been sent me, and which had all arrived one mail later than they ought to have done.

He had some difficulty in finding excuses to justify this conduct; and reiterated the same unsatisfactory reasons which they had previously adduced, and which I have already mentioned to your Majesty; and passed from one subject to another, in order to avoid answering my complaints respecting the letters. He confessed that they seemed to have been opened, and that too in a very clumsy manner; but said it must have been done by the Spaniards, since it was most assuredly not done by his orders, and consequently not by the post-office authorities of France, who were under his direction. I replied that the Spaniards had no reason whatever for doing so, and that the letters which I had written to Brussels had been stopped as well as the others.

I went yesterday to Meudon to pay my court to the King and to the Dauphin, and, as far as I could judge from what Marshal Villeroy said to me, it appears that in order to give a colour to what they do, or, more properly speaking, to what they refuse

to do, they wish to insinuate that his Most Christian Majesty had heard the two points respecting which I had urged him publicly spoken of before I named them to him or his ministers, and that, for this reason, the King was in honour bound not to do any thing. It seemed to me most extraordinary that they should desire to make me responsible for secrecy respecting a matter of which all the world was speaking on my arrival here, and of which every one coming from England and Holland talks quite as much. I was always distrustful of myself in regard to not being able to speak well, but I believe I am pretty sure of myself, and can be silent when necessary.

I have reason to believe that the English in the suite of King James will not be permitted, in future, to come where I am, and attention to this point is, perhaps, all that I can expect.

The overflowing of the river has given me great annoyance, since it still prevents my baggage from coming up from Rouen to this city, and without this I cannot make my entrée.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Kensington, February 13-23. 1698.

Although I received your despatches of the 16th, 17th and 18th of this month last Friday morning, I have not been able to reply to them sooner, having thought it necessary to communicate them to the

Chancellor*, who has been ill for the last eight days, and is, as you know, the only minister who remains to me. I had likewise intended to lay them before the Cabinet Council to-day, but he dissuaded me from doing so, and thought it would suffice to send you instructions through the Secretary of State, and you will receive them by the courier who takes this. I considered it necessary to observe this formality, as well from love to you, as from anything that might result in the sequel, for I know how much the people here cling to formalities.

I was no more surprised than you at the reply which you received from the King, in regard to making King James withdraw from his dominions, and you could expect no other, after what Marshals Villeroy and Boufflers had said. You will also recollect that, before your departure, I often told you, that, considering the nature of matters here, I did not think that this point would be conceded. It would have been more desirable if you had received such a refusal at the close of your negotiation rather than at the commencement, for it may cause you a good deal of embarrassment throughout, and especially in regard to the most important point of all, the Spanish Succession. In my opinion you can take no other course in the present business, than not to speak any more about it, nor to bring it forward directly, but as opportunity offers, in an underhand way, and when they speak

* Lord Somers.

to you about regulating the pension of Queen Maria, to decline entering upon that subject, and to say that you have received instructions not to negotiate on this point, until it shall be known where they intend to reside. With regard to the conspirators, a precise statement of this affair shall be transmitted to you in the course of a few days. It does not appear to me that there is any proof that the Duke of Berwick and Birkenhead were implicated in it, but, to all appearance, they were cognisant of it.

Though you are well acquainted with the state of things here, you will perhaps be surprised to learn that the refusal of his Most Christian Majesty to make King James withdraw from his dominions will not produce the slightest effect upon the mind of the public, for, at the present moment, nothing seems capable of rousing them to think of their safety. Nay, so infatuated are they, that, unless an actual invasion takes place, they will not apprehend any danger.

As I could not take any other course at present, or longer delay the reduction of the troops, I have commenced by sending two regiments of cavalry and eight of infantry to Ireland, and by disbanding seven regiments of infantry here; and will go on doing so with the rest when the money comes in. As yet I do not know the destiny of my Dutch regiments: hitherto they have not been spoken of in Parliament, and I am still in hopes of being able to keep them; but all is uncertain.

I. have given permission to as few persons as

possible, especially to men of consequence, but I should assuredly have given it to a yet smaller number had I been sooner aware of the answer which you have received, though I do not imagine that this will induce them to take any other measures at St. Germain than those which are agreeable at Versailles, where assuredly they will be mistaken, if they think they can form any just conclusion on the state of things here, which are subject to such sudden changes that none but persons on the spot can understand them.

Notwithstanding what has happened to you, I should wish you to continue to pay your court as often as hitherto, though I believe it will be rather irksome to you, knowing your disposition as I do well. But it is neither my interest nor my inclination to be offended at present; and you must endeavour to see only what is done too openly to be passed over. I begin to be extremely impatient to have you with me again, as my affection for you remains unabated.

I cannot help telling you that I felt rather indisposed all last week; I quite lost my appetite and was very low-spirited, yet not so much so as at Zuylestein; I am now much better.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, February 15-25. 1698.

Your proposal to make the city of Maestricht contribute 60,000 rix dollars, in the view of gaining the Elector of Cologne, is very much to my taste, and it has occurred to me that nobody would be better fitted for this negociation than Dopp. Credentials must be procured for him from the States, if necessary; for I cannot furnish them without running the risk of some subsidies being required also from me; and, I must tell you, to my great regret, once for all, and in order that you may shape your course accordingly, that I shall not have a farthing left this year to give to a foreign prince.

It were to be wished that the example of the States of Holland were followed in this country; but the people here are now so foolishly engrossed with themselves, that they do not pay the least attention to what is going on in foreign countries. One would say, either that this island is the only thing on the face of the earth, or, that it has nothing to do with the rest of the world.

THE EARL OF PORTLAND TO WILLIAM III.

Paris, March 1. 1698.

(No. I.)

Your Majesty will have seen, by my preceding letters, the unfavourable turn which matters were taking; it was not long before they came to an open rupture, and, as I have had the honour of informing your Majesty, they seemed disposed to charge me with having made public what I had to negociate before I had spoken to the King and his ministers. The discussion in the city and at court, on these topics, soon spread so generally, that I became the subject of conversation among many persons of different principles and views. Flatterers by profession, in order to curry favour at court and to injure me, and the discontented, in order to find fault with the King and his ministers, put into my mouth a thousand things that I never dreamt of, which formed no part of your instructions, and which, in fact, would be to the disadvantage of your Majesty: all this has placed me in no little difficulty.

But since the receipt of your Majesty's letter of the 8–18th of February, I have altogether changed my conduct. I have called on M. de Pomponne and M. de Torcy, and have complained to them of all this proceeding, begging them to consider the impossibility of my having said what would so clearly have been to my own disadvantage; and I dwelt especially on its manifest falsity, alleging that the circumstance that it could not but turn

to my disadvantage, was a proof that it was an invention of others, in which I had had no share; and I entreated them to represent this to the King their master, so that the absurdities of the world might not be imputed to me. They assured me of their great readiness to do so, but said that I need not apprehend any thing in that quarter.

I begged them to state to the King that the orders and instructions of your Majesty had obliged me to act as I had done; that I must continue to do so; that it was your Majesty's opinion that unless the points upon which I had spoken were complied with, peace could not be maintained; that as it was the earnest desire of your Majesty to preserve the peace, you conceived that it would be a dereliction of duty on your part in this respect, if you did not represent, in the strongest manner possible, what must inevitably disturb it sooner or later, and that as his Most Christian Majesty so positively protested his desire to make it durable, and they, in his name, did the same, they ought to prove it by doing what was essential to that purpose; that I expected this from the sincerity and prudence of his Most Christian Majesty; that though your Majesty had done, and would upon all occasions do, every thing which might consolidate peace and concord, and had, in fact, done every thing that was proper on your side, I begged them to reflect that whatever might happen in future, could not be imputed to your Majesty; that I was resolved, after this, to make no further applications, since I had fulfilled my duty; that as the matter concerned

the king their master, as well as your Majesty, I should leave it to the consideration of his Most Christian Majesty, who would weigh for himself the importance of the affair, and would consider what was due to his interest and his honour; that I would wait, without urging him, till, of his own accord, he should take what he conceived to be the proper time and manner for deciding upon the business; that for the future I would regulate my proceedings according to his pleasure, which was conformable to yours; that I would speak only to the king himself, and to those whom he should appoint, and that I desired only to know his sentiments, in order, if possible, to make myself acceptable to him.

They both expressed much satisfaction at what I had said, assuring me that this was the true means of obtaining a favourable answer, and of succeeding in all that I wished the King to do.

I asked their advice whether I should not request his Majesty to grant me an express audience on the subject, or whether I should avail myself of some casual opportunity of introducing the subject, adding, that it appeared to me that the latter was the most proper way, since, to request an audience for such a trifle might make me seem importunate. They were of my opinion, and said that it was better I should place myself on a footing to approach and speak to the King; and that I should not fail to find an opportunity of doing so when I wished it, which would always be favourable to

me, since I began with saying things which could not but be agreeably received. *

This conversation took place the day before yesterday, after which the Dauphin enquired whether I would accompany him the next day on a wolf hunt; which I did. On my arrival at Versailles, I went straight to his apartments, not thinking that I could possibly have had an opportunity of speaking to the King so soon; but, as I went upstairs with him to the King's apartment, his Majesty had just finished dressing, and had gone to his cabinet. M. de Torcy, however, who was waiting for me, told me he had repaired thither, as he knew I was expected, and he had hoped that

* "After the peace, the Earl of Portland was sent ambassador extraordinary to France. Upon his arrival, he said that he did not expect to find King James still at St. Germains. He complained of it to the King himself at a private audience, as a breach of the promise from Marshal Boufflers. But the king of England did not approve of the precipitancy of his ambassador. This minister, not satisfied with demanding the expulsion of King James, insisted further, that the King should banish out of France the Duke of Berwick, and several other Englishmen, who were suspected in England of being accomplices in the plot lately discovered, of taking away King William's life. The demands of the Earl of Portland being disowned by the king his master, this minister immediately made an apology for his behaviour. He protested farther that, agreeably to the intentions of this prince, he had a strong desire of forwarding that harmony and good understanding, which the king of England would be glad to establish with his Majesty, from a conviction that this union was necessary for the welfare and tranquillity of Europe." —*Memoirs of Torcy.*

I should have come up sooner, as he wished to tell me that I might speak to the King whenever I desired; but that now it would be necessary to put it off till another hour or day. This I have done, and it is better that I did so, because in the meantime other well-disposed persons will speak to the King and smooth the way, so that I may meet with the better reception. I shall afterwards endeavour to obtain permission to attend him now and then to Marly, which I must at present do with some reserve, not to meet with a refusal, since very few persons, and no foreign minister, have ever been admitted there. It yet remains for me to see Madame de Maintenon, whose reserve on all matters relative to business is so great, that she will not see any of the ministers.*

Since I have adopted the present tone, I observe that people are more eager to show me civilities than they were before these rumours were first circulated, although they never wholly omitted them. I have been told that the King has given orders that these courtesies should be shown me, and I confess, Sire, that it is impossible for any man who arrives suddenly at this court to know exactly where he is; and your Majesty was right in saying that it is very different from what I have ever seen, or to what I have been accustomed to,

* "Madame Maintenon would never see Lord Portland; which was looked upon as a bad sign of the French intention towards King William and his government."—*Note of Lord Hardwicke to Burnet's History.*

or to what my humour inclines. However, I shall do my best to endeavour to gain some little knowledge of it, in order to serve you, and to give you an account of it; this I hope to be able to do by personal and habitual intercourse with individuals with whom I may become acquainted; but it is quite impracticable before time shall have afforded opportunity to acquire the confidence of those who compose the court; sincerity is as rare here as elsewhere, and those who make the greatest show of candour and frankness are often the very persons who have the least.

I shall give your Majesty an account of all by word of mouth, when I shall be so happy as to see you again; but this, I fear, will not be quite so soon as I expected, because my baggage has not yet arrived, — an extraordinary fact, since, for many years, the river has not been blocked up for so long a period. I hope, however, that after my things have come, and I have made my entrée, I shall not be obliged to remain here very long. The chief reason for my fear that I shall have to prolong my stay is, that I have not yet accomplished any thing, even in the most unimportant matter; but this I by no means ventured to do, or even to enter upon them, till I had done every thing to pave the way for those that are important, and placed myself on a more easy footing with the king and his ministers, for fear I should not succeed in any thing. However, I will not lose any time at this late hour, let matters go ill or well.

(No. II.)

M. de Gourville has retired from all conversation and society, on account of his age and infirmities, and I do not think that I shall be able to see him.*

* " Milord Portland étant venu à Paris, ambassadeur du roi d'Angleterre, m'envoya un homme de sa connaissance et de la mienne, pour me dire qu'il avait ordre du roi son maître de me voir, et de faire savoir de mes nouvelles à sa Majesté Britannique. Je fis reflexion sur l'embarras où je me trouverais; mais cela n'empêcha pas que je ne répondisse qu'il me ferait honneur: et m'ayant demandé une heure, je lui dis que ce serait quand il lui plairait; mais que s'il voulait bien, ce serait le lendemain à trois heures. Je me fis porter dans mon appartement en haut, qui était fort propre: ce fut la première fois que je sortis de ma chambre depuis six ans. Le plaisir que je recevais de cette visite, et l'honneur qu'elle me faisait, rappela assez mes esprits pour me bien tirer de cette conversation. Non-seulement je le remerciai des honnêtetés qu'il me fit de la part du roi son maître, et de toutes les bontés de Sa Majesté, mais encore des obligations que je lui avais de ce qu'elle s'était bien fait connaître telle que je l'avais représentée en France. Après quelques questions de part et d'autre, il me dit qu'il avait ordre du roi son maître de me demander mon avis sur ce qu'il y aurait à faire pour empêcher la guerre, en cas que le roi d'Espagne vint à mourir, y ayant beaucoup d'apparence que cela n'irait pas loin. Par ce que je savais que depuis long-temps il n'avait eu de desseins que pour la paix, je lui répondis que j'estimais que de tous côtés on devait songer à faire le fils de M. l'électeur de Bavière roi d'Espagne: il m'avoua que c'était la pensée de son maître, qui lui avait défendu de me la dire, avant de m'en avoir fait la question. Nous nous étendîmes sur toutes les raisons qui appuyaient cette pensée. Ayant eu réponse du roi d'Angleterre après cette entrevue, il me vint voir sans façon pour me faire encore des amitiés de la part de Sa Majesté." — *Mémoires de Gourville.*

Gourville wrote his Memoirs in 1702: he died June 14.

I am much concerned to hear all your Majesty tells me relative to matters in England; but the weather is changeable. After rain, comes sunshine. Since my Lord Sunderland is out of the world, and his enemies say no more of him than his friends, your Majesty will now perhaps have greater ease in doing what you formerly intended, than you could before.

After all this, I must give your Majesty some account of the gardens, the houses, and the chase. Owing to the wretched weather, I have not been in a hurry to see the former, for every thing looks dead and dirty, and the fountains are not playing, in consequence of the long frost, which has hindered the machines from drawing water to fill the reservoirs. The orange trees at Versailles are extremely large and fine, and very numerous; the stems are lofty and beautiful, but the crowns are not like those of Honsleerdick, and those of Trianon are of little account in comparison with the others. It is extraordinary that I have not seen any fruit trees in the environs, and I have been obliged to send to Orleans to get some that I wanted. Of all the thousands of flowers, of which your Majesty has heard that all the parterres were so full at all seasons, I have not seen a single one, not

1703. If, as is probable, he has given an exact account of the substance of his interview with the Earl of Portland, this passage of his Memoirs engages attention; for it would show in what way William III. regarded the solution of the problem of the Spanish succession, a point on which we have not the least information.

even a snowdrop; and the gardens are by no means as neat in winter as ours; nothing is done to them.

At Versailles all is magnificent, gardens and buildings and every thing, though faults may be discerned in the latter, by persons who are no more of an architect than myself. The expenses there are immense.

Trianon is very agreeable and charming, but Meudon surpasses all in situation, and the air must be like that of Windsor. The prospect is rich and beautiful, and the whole would be to your Majesty's taste. This is all that I have seen.

The wolf hunt, which I did not see till yesterday, surprised me, for I believed it to be coarse, requiring great swiftness, and of long duration, whereas it is neither the one nor the other. The wolf we gave chase to was not above a year old. The country was the most detestable in the environs. We took him fairly in less than two hours, though the dogs are far from being so swift as your Majesty's stag-hounds. They hunt along the road and the avenues of the forest, as in England, in an enclosed country. MADAME never lost her way, and did not leave the side of the Dauphin. Your Majesty may judge what difficulty I had in keeping up with them.

I shall hunt the stag some day with the Duke de la Rochefoucauld*, and Count d'Armargnac will

* "Portland était grand chasseur. Soit envie de voir faire la meute du Roi, soit surprise de ne recevoir aucune autre civilité

take me some day to hunt with him at Royaumont, where the country is said to be very fine. The Chevalier de Lorraine *, who is a great sportsman,

du duc de la Rochefoucauld que la simple révérence lorsqu'ils se rencontraient, il dit et répéta souvent qu'il mourait d'envie de chasser avec les chiens du Roi. Il le dit tant et devant tant de gens, qu'il jugea impossible que cela ne fut revenu à M. de la Rochefoucauld, et cependant sans aucune suite. Lassé de cette obscurité, il la voulut percer, et au sortir d'un lever du Roi aborda franchement le grand veneur, et lui dit son désir. L'autre ne s'en embarrassa point. Il lui répondit assez sèchement qu'à la vérité il avait l'honneur d'être grand veneur, mais qu'il ne disposait point des chasses, que c'était le roi d'Angleterre dont il prenait les ordres, qu'il y venait très souvent, mais qu'il ne savait jamais qu'au moment de partir quand il ne venait pas au rendez-vous, et tout de suite la révérence, et laissa là Portland dans un grand dépit, et toutefois sans se pouvoir plaindre. M. de la Rochefoucauld fut le seul grand seigneur distingué de la cour qui n'approcha jamais Portland. Ce qu'il lui répondit était pure générosité pour le roi d'Angleterre. Ce prince, à la vérité, disposait quand il voulait de la meute du Roi, mais il y avait bien des temps qu'il ne chassait point, et jamais à toutes les chasses. Il ne tenait donc qu'à M. de la Rochefoucauld d'en donner à Portland tant qu'il aurait voulu à coup sûr, mais piqué de la prostitution publique à la vue de la cour de St. Germain, il ne put se refuser cette mortification du triomphant ambassadeur de l'usurpateur qui avait attaché a son char jusqu'à M. de Lauzun, malgré ses engagements et son attachement au roi et à la reine d'Angleterre, et sans y pouvoir gagner que de la honte, pour suivre la mode et croire faire sa cour au Roi." — *Mémoires de St. Simon.*

* Louis de Lorraine, grand écuyer de France, commonly called M. le Grand. The notorious Chevaliér de Lorraine, well known as the favourite of MONSIEUR, and suspected of having given poison to MADAME Henriette, daughter of Charles I., was his brother. — Royaumont was a very fine place in the vicinity of Chantilly.

keeps his pack in good order. His hounds are all English; those of the Dauphin are half English and half French.

Count Tallard * thinks of setting out soon. I hope that, considering the reception I have met with here, every thing possible will be done for the ambassador of France.

* Camille d'Hostun, Count Tallard, created duke in 1713, and marshal of France in 1703, was sent into England as ambassador extraordinary after the peace of Ryswick. St. Simon says, in speaking of him and of Harcourt, sent about the same time ambassador to the Court of Spain, of whom more hereafter:—

"Harcourt et lui pouvaient seuls disputer d'esprit, de finesse, d'industrie, de manège, et d'intrigue, de désir d'être, d'envie de plaire, et de charmes dans le commerce de la vie et dans le commandement. L'application, la suite, beaucoup de talents étaient en eux les mêmes, l'aisance dans le travail, et tous deux jamais un pas sans vue, en apparence même le plus indifférent; l'ambition pareille, et le même peu d'égards aux moyens; tous deux doux, polis, affables, accessibles en tous temps, et capables de servir quand il n'y allait de guères et de peu de dépense de crédit; tous deux les meilleurs intendants d'armée et les meilleurs munitionnaires; tous deux se jouant des détails; tous deux adorés de leurs généraux, et depuis qu'ils le furent, adorés aussi des officiers généraux et particuliers et des troupes, sans abandonner la discipline; tous deux arrivés par le service continuel d'été et d'hiver, enfin par les ambassades; tous deux avec la même et la même sorte d'ambition. . . . "Tallard était un homme de médiocre taille, avec des yeux un peu jaloux, pleins de feu et d'esprit, mais qui ne voyaient goutte; maigre, have, qui représentait l'ambition, l'envie, et l'avarice; beaucoup d'esprit et de grace dans l'esprit, mais sans cesse battu du diable par son ambition, ses vues, ses menées, ses détours, et qui ne pensait et ne respirait autre chose. Qui que ce soit ne se fiait en lui, et tout le monde se plaisait à sa compagnie."

Living here is extremely expensive, especially during Lent. Horses cost three times as much as in Holland.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Kensington, $\frac{\text{February 22.}}{\text{March 3.}}$ 1698.

I must confess that the reasons which M. de Pomponne has alleged why his Most Christian Majesty had refused you the two requests you made of him, are so weak that I am astonished he should think of urging them, especially as they knew beforehand what you had to demand; as if it were possible that things of this nature could be secret, and that the world should not guess at that which must naturally strike every eye.

I have not thought fit, at present, publicly to divulge the refusal which you have met with: you will do well to continue as you have begun, to write to me two separate letters; one which I may show, and the other for my private information. It is so difficult just now to know what may have a good effect here upon the debates in Parliament, that there is the greatest uncertainty what course to adopt. I have a great mind, when Count Tallard comes, to speak to him myself, in the way of conversation, about the removal of King James; but before doing so, I should like to have your opinion respecting it. With regard to the other point,

that relates to the assassins, I shall not speak to him of them, considering it to be beneath my dignity.

I hope that you have received all my preceding letters, to which I have nothing to add. I wish much that the weather may permit you to go hunting, in order that you may see their manners. I am very sorry that the non-arrival of your baggage prevents you from making your *entrée*, and will consequently prolong your embassy: I assure you that I am most impatient to have you once more with me.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, $\frac{\text{February 22.}}{\text{March 4.}}$ 1698.

There is nothing to be communicated from hence save that the Parliament is now engaged in private animosities and party quarrels, and thinks very little of public affairs. God knows when this session will terminate.

THE EARL OF PORTLAND TO WILLIAM III.*

Paris, March 7. 1698, in the morning.

(No. I.)

Since the last letter which I had the honour to write to your Majesty, I have received your letter

* "On Friday, the 7th, Dr. Wickart, dean of Winchester and first almoner of his Excellency, met with an adventure which deserves a place in this journal. Having gone to dine with one of his friends, M. Cormier, advocate to the council, the commissary of the quarter entered the room in which they were, with an officer of the police, and ten or twelve policemen remained at the door with a carriage. The behaviour of the commissary was civil; he said that he had only come to prevent disturbance, and to accompany an officer who had orders to arrest a person who was then with M. Cormier. Dr. Wickart, seeing that he was meant, said that there must be some mistake, that he was almoner to the English ambassador, and that he did not believe that there was any thing against him, or that he was known. To which the officer of the police replied that he was very well known, mentioned a name pretty nearly resembling the dean's, pointed out his residence at a paper-hanger's in the Rue de Grenelle, described the stature and appearance of his footman, and plainly showed that he was not mistaken with respect to the person whom they intended to arrest. He was asked for what reason this order had been given, and replied that Dr. Wickart was accused of having held meetings and of administering the sacrament near the Ile Notre-Dame. Dr. Wickart having denied the fact, and insisted that, as almoner to the English ambassador, they had no right to arrest him, or that at least they ought to take him to the ambassador's, M. Cormier confirmed his assertion, that he belonged to his Excellency as his almoner; but the officer answered that he had orders to conduct the person to whom he was speaking to his superior, M. d'Argenson; that he must

of the 13–23 of last month. I am infinitely rejoiced to learn that you are better, at the same time that

obey orders, but would first introduce a man who would make himself known.

"After waiting a moment, a miserable informer, named Des Combes, entered the room. Being asked if the person whom he saw had administered the sacrament, he answered "Yes." Being again questioned, he affirmed the same thing, and added that he had himself received the sacrament from him in a house near the Ile Notre Dame. Dr. Wickart insisted that it was a falsehood, told this wretch to take care of what he said, and to look closely at the person whom he accused. Des Combes then, looking at him more attentively, exclaimed "I am mistaken, it is not he." Dr. Wickart then said that this man was a rogue; that he knew his face, for that he had come to the hotel of his Excellency and had spoken to him (Dr. Wickart) about a month before, telling him that he wished to go to England, where he had an uncle who was a clergyman (Dr. Wickart having forgotten the name of this pretended uncle, the officer of the police said that it was Le Blanc); but that being told that there was no person at the ambassador's who could undertake to get him a passage to England, he begged that they would, at all events, take a letter to his uncle, adding that he was in distress; this Dr. Wickart promised to do, and in fact had done. The man brought him his letter a few days afterwards to his room; but Dr. Wickart, having subsequently written to England, had ascertained that the letter was an imposition, and that there was no clergyman in London of the name of Le Blanc, uncle of Des Combes. Dr. Wickart demanded that Des Combes should be secured, which the commissary and the officer promised to do; the latter added that he had long since received money from him for this affair, and that he suspected him of being an impostor.

"The next day, which was Saturday the 8th, my Lord sent Dr. Wickart and Mr. Prior, secretary to the embassy, to M. de Pomponne, who was at Paris. They presented to him

you tell me that you have been similarly indisposed, as you were last year. May God of his great mercy preserve your life and health for many years!

a memorial, containing the narrative of the event, as we have related it; and added, that it was very extraordinary that in order to arrest the almoner of an ambassador they should have employed the testimony of an informer who had been paid to watch him and to make him fall into a snare, in concert, as it appeared, with the officer who had the order to arrest him; that it was no less strange that he would have been arrested, though he had made himself known as almoner to his Lordship, as well by the proofs which he gave, as by the testimony of M. Cormier, then that they had refused to take him to his Excellency, but had ministered, upon conveying him to the Chatelet, where M. d'Argenson was at that time sitting, and which they would have done had not the informer retracted his false accusation more than once.

"As soon as my Lord saw M. de Pomponne and M. de Torcy, he did not fail to complain of the insult which had been offered to his chaplain, and to demand reparation. These gentlemen came to his Lordship, ten or twelve days afterwards, and told him that they had made a report on this matter to the King, that his Majesty had ordered them to wait on my Lord and say that he was sorry for it, and that there was no intention of doing any thing which could affect his character. They added that the informer was in prison, and should be punished for his calumny. My Lord insisted, that, as the insult had been public, the apology should be public also; that M. d'Argenson should come to his hotel to make an apology, since it was he who had given orders to have his chaplain arrested, though, perhaps, he had not known him as such, and had been deceived by his spies. This demand of my Lord had no other effect, but that, about a week afterwards, the officer, who had had the order to arrest Dr. Wickart, was sent to him. He told his Excellency that he came from his Majesty to relate to him how this affair had

I am very glad to see by your Majesty's letter that I have anticipated your views by doing as you order me. I confess that this does not suit my humour and my temperament, but I must overcome these weaknesses as soon as I am aware of them, and when your interests require it; recollecting the saying of the late Lord Rochester, that "we must live in the world as if we were a part of it."

I went on the 4th to Versailles, as if to pay my court. I waited for the King coming from mass, at the door of his cabinet; and requested, as he passed, the honour of speaking to him. He made me go in with him, and I said to him, in as few words as possible, what I informed your Majesty I had said to M. de Pomponne and M. de Torcy. He received me as well as possible, repeated his protestations of esteem for your Majesty, and the assurances of his desire for the continuance of your

happened, and to show him that there had been no design to affect his character. My Lord replied, that he was sufficiently acquainted with the details of the affair, and that he desired to know nothing but the name of the superior by whose orders he had acted. The officer replied, that he had no permission to disclose this name. Upon which my Lord told him that it was only of this superior that he had to complain, and not of him, who, being a subaltern, had nothing to do but to obey; that, therefore, since he would not name his superior, he might withdraw, saying which, my Lord turned his back upon him.

"My Lord complained to the ministers, a few days afterwards, of their having sent such a man to him, still insisting that M. d'Argenson himself should come and make the apology. The ministers promised to speak to the King about it; but his Excellency did not afterwards receive any answer or any more ample satisfaction."—*Manuscript Journal.*

friendship and the maintenance of peace. To this I replied in proper terms, saying, that, provided your Majesty were placed in a condition to concur in both these points, it would be seen that you would not stop half way. Whereupon the King said that he would do every thing that could reasonably be expected of him, confirming what he said with many obliging expressions and an open and smiling countenance.

I added that with respect to myself I begged him for the future not to judge of me to my disadvantage, by my words, but by my actions, which I wished to regulate according to his pleasure, so far as the orders of your Majesty permitted, and which were by no means contrary to what I told him of my intentions and desires. I likewise begged him to tell me himself, whatever might displease him in my conduct, and if he should have any thing to say to me which he did not wish to be known, I would answer for keeping the secret, provided that his Majesty made me the sole depositary of it. He replied in terms too flattering to myself to be repeated in a letter, and sufficient to turn the head of a man who knows himself less than I do. Upon this I withdrew, after he had told me, that in regard to the other affairs of which I had to treat, I might speak of them to M. de Pomponne.

In the afternoon the King went to Marly, whence he will not return till to-morrow evening. As my baggage has arrived, I shall make my *entrée* the day after to-morrow, Sunday; and on the Tuesday following I shall have my audience. The marshal

who is appointed to receive me at the former, is Marshal Boufflers, and the prince who is to introduce me at the audience, is Count Marsan. *

I am not quite sure, Sire, that it would have been better if I had received a refusal at the end, instead of at the commencement of my embassy; for, as the case now stands, more facility will perhaps be shown in all other points upon which I shall have to speak, unless they desire to break entirely with your Majesty, and keep no terms which certainly does not seem to be their intention, from what the King and his ministers say, and from the language of persons about the Court, who are best acquainted with what is going on. It is true, that the latter cannot be implicitly relied upon; but still some judgment may be formed.

I am to see M. de Pomponne this afternoon at four o'clock, of which interview I shall give an account before the departure of the courier. Your Majesty's refusal to permit the English, Irish and others, to remain in England, contrary to the act of Parliament, indisposes them to King James, and disturbs them much, because they are in want, and find it difficult to live here. The Duke de Lauzun, the principal counsellor of King James,

* "9 Mars, 1698. — C'est toujours un maréchal de France qui mêne les ambassadeurs à leurs entrées à Paris; et un prince des maisons de Lorraine ou de Savoie, quand il y en a, qui les accompagne à la première audience qu'ils ont du Roi."—*Dangeau.* Count Marsan was a younger brother of M. le Grand and of the Chevalier de Lorraine.

seems to affect to treat me with so much civility that every body is surprised at it. I do not know what his object may be, if he has any, which I believe to be the case.

As King James frequently goes hunting with the Dauphin, I am often prevented doing so, as I do not choose to encounter him.* From the favourable manner in which every body tells me that he speaks of me, it is thought that he would make no difficulty in meeting me. I do not yet know whether I shall be permitted to pay my court at Marly, because I have thought it better to feel my way quietly, by means of a friend, than to ask directly, or to have it asked for, and expose myself to an unpleasant refusal.

I am in no hurry to go and see the gardens, because of the season. It freezes hard every night, and I shall be so engaged all next week with the ceremonies that I shall not be able to think of any thing else. MONSIEUR wishes that I should come and see him at St. Cloud the week before Easter. At this moment they are making some difficulties respecting the ceremonial, which will oblige me to detain the courier.

* "Parmi tant de fleurs, Portland ne laissa pas d'essuyer quelques épines et de sentir la présence du légitime roi d'Angleterre en France. Il était allé une fois à Meudon pour suivre MONSEIGNEUR à la chasse. On allait partir et Portland se bottait, lorsque MONSEIGNEUR fut averti que le roi d'Angleterre se trouverait au rendez-vous. A l'instant il le manda à Portland, et qu'il le priait de remettre à une autre fois. Il fallut se débotter et revenir tout de suite à Paris."—*Mémoires de St. Simon.*

(No. II.)

My baggage having arrived, I had prepared to make my *entrée* the day after to-morrow*, without any difficulty, since his Most Christian Majesty had approved of the day, and every thing was adjusted and decided; but this morning M. de Boneuil waited upon me and showed me a letter which he had received from the Marquis de Torcy, who signified to him that the king desired that the carriage of the Duchess de Verneuil† should be present at my *entrée*, and, consequently, take precedence of mine. The same proposal had been made to several ambassadors; for instance, the ambassador of Venice; and I had received an intimation of this affair beforehand. These ambassadors refused to consent to it, as an innovation, which had not been hitherto practised.

I told M. de Boneuil that I was sorry to find that they should propose a thing of this kind to me, and wish to make me do that which had no precedent, and which, even the ambassador

* "His Excellency sent word to M. Boneuil, on Tuesday the 4th of March, that he was ready to make his *entrée* on Sunday, the 9th. This conductor of ambassadors informed the Most Christian King, who approved of that day, and fixed the public audience at Versailles for the following Tuesday."—*Manuscript Journal.*

† Daughter of the Chancellor Seguier, married to the Duke de Verneuil, natural son of Henri IV. She enjoyed the privileges belonging to the princesses of the blood for the first time at the marriage of the Duke de Chartres with a natural daughter of Louis XIV., in 1692.

of Venice had refused. I was obliged to tell him that I would in nowise consent; that I would not invite that lady to send a carriage, as it is the custom to invite others; and, that if she were to send it, I would not allow it to take precedence of mine; that I would cause that of Count de Toulouse to follow immediately after mine; and, that if I could not hinder the line of my carriages from being broken by force, my people should inform me of it; that I would have them stopped and alight from the king's carriage, and would not make my *entrée* till I had communicated the matter to your Majesty and had received your orders.

The conductor of ambassadors expressed his surprise, having before informed me that this had never been done. I told him that I should expect his answer as soon as possible, in order to decide whether I should make my *entrée* or not; and begged him to explain clearly to M. de Torcy what I had just said. I will give your Majesty an account of all to-morrow, and shall therefore detain the mail till that time.*

* "On Thursday, the 6th, M. Prior having gone to M. de Boneuil with Mr. Robethon, for information respecting some parts of the ceremonial, that officer told them that M. Sainctot, his colleague, with whom he is not upon very good terms, intended to persuade his Excellency to invite the Duchess de Verneuil to his *entrée*. This lady is descended from a natural son of king Henry IV., and therefore he wished to warn his Excellency, as a friend, to reject this proposal if it were made to him. They replied, that it was not likely that such a proposal would be made, or that there should be any intention of inducing his Excellency to be the first to take

I have just been to see M. de Pomponne, and have spoken to him on the points contained in my instructions, of which I left him a note. He told

a step in an affair of this kind, since no ambassador had yet consented to do so; that his Excellence was not ignorant that, at the recent *entrée* of the Portuguese ambassador, the carriage of that duchess had not been present; that M. Sainctot had indeed induced the preceding nuncio, Cavallerini, to invite that lady to send her carriage at his *entrée*, which had been done; but, when the nuncio immediately afterwards found that he had fallen into a snare, he had loudly complained of it, and declined going to the drawing-room of the Duchess de Verneuil, as it is usual to attend those of all the princesses of the blood; that although the ambassador would willingly conform to the usage which he should find established in favour of the natural sons of the reigning king, the Duke du Maine, and Count de Toulouse, it would be useless to solicit him to pay the same honours to the Duchess de Verneuil.

" Notwithstanding this, M. de Boneuil waited on his Excellency on the following day, Tuesday the 7th, for the purpose of reading to him a note which he had received the previous evening from the Marquis de Torcy, of which the following is a copy: —

" ' Marly, March 6. 1698.

" ' I have received your note this morning. I have informed the King of the explanation which you demand respecting the carriage of the Duchess de Verneuil. It is his Majesty's intention that she shall be treated like Count de Toulouse, and that she shall rank immediately after him: her carriage, therefore, is to go to the *entrées* of the ambassadors, and follow immediately after that of Count de Toulouse. I beg you to let me know to-morrow whether the *entrée* of the Earl of Portland is still fixed for Sunday, and whether his equipage has arrived.'

" His Excellency was surprised at this note, and reminded M. de Boneuil that he had told him on the preceding day that

me that he would make a report to the King. I made no mention to him of commerce or of the post, to which your Majesty desired me to reply

this proposition would be rejected should it be made. His lordship then declared in a very decided tone, that, as he should not invite the Duchess de Verneuil, he hoped that she would not send her carriage to his *entrée;* but that if she did so without invitation, he should order his servants forcibly to hinder the carriage of this lady from preceding his; but that if it were made to pass before his, and either by force or stratagem got into the line during the procession, his Excellency would be instantly informed by some persons on horseback, whom he should desire to be on the watch, upon which he would at once alight from the king's carriage, and step into his own; and that he would neither make his *entrée*, nor have a public audience. But, however, as it would be best to avoid such an *éclat*, should the Court of France persist in the pretension which it set up, his Excellency desired to be informed of it on the following day, Saturday, because in that case he would not make his *entrée* on Sunday, but would write to the king his master for instruction.

"M. de Boneuil withdrew with this answer, as my lord refused to listen to any of the modifications which that gentleman proposed to him. The firmness of his Excellency obliged the Court of France to desist from its pretension; and his Excellency was informed of it on Saturday the 8th, at noon, by a note from M. de Boneuil, of which the following is a copy:—

"'In answer to the demand made by Mr. Robethon on the part of your Excellency, I have the honour to inform you, that as you have not time between this and to-morrow,—which the King has fixed as the day for your *entrée*,—to allow of your Excellency's writing to England to the king your master, and to receive orders conformable with the views of his Majesty, I have the honour to inform your Excellency that it is his Majesty's pleasure that you should make your *entrée* to-morrow, and that your carriage should follow imme-

in case he should speak to me about them, which it does not seem that they are inclined to do. I do not know whether I am misinformed, but I

diately that of Count de Toulouse. I shall have the honour to communicate to your Excellency more at length the intentions of his Majesty on this subject. Meantime, I beg your Excellency to believe, &c. &c.'

" On Saturday, at three o'clock in the afternoon, M. de Boneuil waited in person on his Excellency to communicate to him a letter which he had received that morning from the Marquis de Torcy, of which the following is a copy: —

" ' Marly, March 7. 1698.

" ' Sir,

" ' If the difficulty which Lord Portland makes respecting the carriage of the Duchess de Verneuil could have been foreseen, time would have been allowed for his Excellency to write to England on the subject; and there is good reason to believe that, before his *entrée*, he would have received orders which would have removed every obstacle. It is certain that the Duke de Verneuil has the same rank as Count de Toulouse, and hence, we cannot understand why the Earl of Portland wishes to make a difference of respect where the King makes none, except in that of precedence. You are aware that the Duchess de Verneuil signs the contracts of marriage of the Royal Family; that she has always been present at the entertainments, and, in short, that she is treated in every point as the princesses of the blood. Ambassadors cannot diminish the number of those whom it is his Majesty's pleasure to treat in this manner; they must conform to what is usual in the countries in which they are.

" ' Reasons might be found to meet the difficulties which the Earl of Portland makes to one carriage, more or less, preceding his at his *entrée*, if the day were more distant; but, as it is to be on Sunday, and his Majesty does not think fit to delay it, if he does not change his resolution, he is at liberty to conform with what is set down in the ceremonial observed with respect to the last English ambassador. You must, however, if you

am told that they are persuaded here that England has more need of the commerce of France, and cannot do without it, and that, on this account, they intend to increase the import duties on tin and lead coming from England.

I mentioned to M. de Pomponne the surprising difficulty which was raised in respect to the ceremonial, and spoke in the same terms as I had done to the conductor of ambassadors, whose answer I am still awaiting.

8th March.

I have this instant received a letter from the conductor of ambassadors: this difficulty therefore is removed.

please, see the Duchess de Verneuil, and give her an account of the order which you have from the king, in consequence of the difficulties raised by Lord Portland: you will let her know that, if we had been aware of them more than two days before his *entrée*, time would have been given him to write to England about it; but that the day for the *entrée*, and that for his audience of the king, being fixed, it is not possible to defer it; that, however, his Majesty desires that you shall inform the ambassadors who shall come in future of what is due to the rank which the king has given her.'

"M. de Boneuil, after having read this letter, strongly insisted that the intention of the King was, that in future the ambassadors should pay the same honour to the Duchess de Verneuil as to the other princesses of the blood; to which my lord answered, 'that his business at present was only to regulate what was to be done at his *entrée* on the following day, and that it would be seen in the sequel, whether the king his master, and the other sovereigns, would consent to this innovation.'

"His Excellency having obtained what he wished in regard to this incident, thought only of preparing every thing for his *entrée* the following day."—*Manuscript Journal.*

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, $\frac{\text{February } 25.}{\text{March } 7.}$ 1698.

The conversation which you have had with Bonrepos gives much room for reflection. It appears strange to me, that the French already manifest so openly a desire to evade the treaty of commerce concluded with the Republic. One would say, that they are preparing shortly to recommence the war. We shall be able to judge with more certainty on the return of the Earl of Portland, who will assuredly be thoroughly informed of every thing. Meanwhile, it is very melancholy that we cannot take measures to secure ourselves against a surprise, especially in case the king of Spain should die suddenly. The most vexatious point for me is, that the strange proceedings of Parliament put it out of my power to do any thing for the common security, so that I do not even know whether it would be advisable for me, at present, to engage in a new treaty of guarantee or association. You propose to me, that I should manage so as to have some money in reserve, and for that purpose you advise a loan of two millions. This would be, without question, a very useful and necessary precaution; but the state of affairs here is at present such, that not only is it impossible for me to make such a loan, but I do not even see how I shall be able to pay some debts this year, however urgent they may be.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Kensington, $\frac{\text{March 8.}}{\text{February 26.}}$ 1698.

I highly approve the manner which you have resolved to adopt respecting the false reports that had been circulated of your having published what you had to ask before you spoke to his Most Christian Majesty. I believe that what you have resolved upon is also the only way to succeed in obtaining the withdrawal of King James, though, for many reasons, I still consider this a very difficult matter. I look with impatience for your answer to my last letter, in which I asked your opinion, whether I should speak of it to Count Tallard.

The refusal which you have met with begins to be circulated here. It was thought better that it should come from the Jacobites themselves than from me or my ministers, since it might produce a better effect and impression in Parliament; but to speak candidly, I do not think that it would make any difference one way or the other, because, at present, men do not reflect upon any thing but turn all according to their own fancy. I believe, for instance, that if King James were obliged to withdraw from France, they would say, "there is nothing more to fear," and if he remains, they would be perfectly indifferent to it. Such is the temper which at present prevails here; nothing in the world is thought of but how one party may

injure the other, and court popular favour for the elections of the new Parliament, which does more harm than can be imagined. I daily discover more and more of the intrigues which were carried on before your departure, the particulars of which will astonish you, but which I cannot communicate to you till your return.

I believe that the Duke of Shrewsbury will be here next week or at the beginning of the week after, and then I can let you know the resolution which he will adopt, and which seems to be very uncertain. So much, however, is certain, the Whigs by no means desire the return of Lord Sunderland, and they make no mystery of it: he appears to have a mind to return. The more one thinks of the folly which he has committed, the more provoking it seems.*

The delay in the arrival of your baggage is very vexatious. Besides the additional expense, you will be obliged to stay longer in France than we had

* *The Earl of Sunderland to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* Feb. 24.—March 6. 1698.—"When I laid down the place of chamberlain, I did it with a desire never to have any thing to do again in public business, for sure it was the wrongest step that could be made, if I had not been very positively of that mind. My judgment and my inclination are still the same; but I submit both to the King, who was more displeased and angry at what I did than I imagined, and took it with less indifferency, in relation to his affairs, than I could have thought, without presumption, which obliges me, who owe him so much, to be disposed of as he pleases, provided that he gives me leave to serve him as a privy counsellor only, without a place, which would be now insupportably ridiculous, after having quitted one so lately."

anticipated, and, according to my calculation, you will not be able to return before the end of April, because it would not be seemly for you to leave till at least six weeks after your public *entrée* and audience: besides, you must then have a little time to make excursions and see the finest places. I assure you that I am very impatient to have you with me again; but I esteem you fortunate at being absent at present, for you would be mortified at seeing matters in such a state as they are without being able to remedy them in the least.

I send you herewith a letter, which I received a few days ago from the Prince de Vaudémont.* You

* " Charles IV., duc de Lorraine, marié depuis long-temps à la duchesse Nicole, était à Bruxelles amoureux de Madame de Cantecroix. Il apposta un courrier, qui lui apporta la nouvelle de la mort de la duchesse Nicole. Il en donna part dans Bruxelles, prit le grand deuil, et quatorze jours après épousa Béatrix de Cusance, veuve du comte de Cantecroix. Bientôt après la fourbe fut découverte, et on apprit de tous côtés que la duchesse Nicole était pleine de vie et de santé, et n'avait pas seulement été malade. Madame de Cantecroix, qui n'en avait pas été la dupe, fit tout comme si elle l'eut été; mais elle était grosse, elle s'apaisa; ils continuèrent de réputer la duchesse Nicole pour morte, et de vivre ensemble à la face du monde comme étant effectivement mariés. Le duc Charles eut de ce beau mariage une fille d'abord, puis un fils, parfaitement batards l'un et l'autre, et universellement regardés comme tels. Le fils est M. de Vaudémont dont il s'agit. Charles IV. l'éleva auprès de lui. . . . . M. de Vaudémont fut un des hommes des mieux faits de son temps. Un beau visage et grande mine, des yeux beaux et fort vifs, pleins de feu et d'esprit; aussi en avait-il infiniment. La liaison du duc Charles avec les Espagnols attacha M. de Vaudémont à leur service. Dix ans de guerre lui donnèrent occasion d'employer tous ses talents pour s'avancer, et

know how greatly I desire to afford him pleasure, that any thing that you can do to forward his interest will be the same as if you did it for me; and I know likewise that you entertain so great a friendship for him that this commission cannot fail to be agreeable to you. You will be the best judge of the way in which you are most likely to succeed, and I therefore leave it entirely to your management. It is impossible to love you more than I do, and ever shall.

Since MADAME says so many obliging things respecting me, I think that you ought to return the compliment from me.

THE EARL OF PORTLAND TO WILLIAM III.

Paris, March 8. 1698.

I am not able to say whether it will be advisable that your Majesty should yourself speak to Count Tallard of the affair of King James.

il les employa utilement. La nouvelle liaison de l'Espagne avec la Hollande et le voisinage des Pays-Bas y forma des liaisons dont Vaudémont sut profiter. Il sut s'insinuer auprès du Prince d'Orange, et peu à peu devint de ses amis jusqu'à être admis dans sa confidence. La guerre de 1688 arrivée, le Prince mit tout son crédit à élever son ami au commandement des armées. Des emplois qu'il avait eus jusque là il n'y avait plus qu'un pas à faire. Le Prince de Waldeck était vieux : on fit en sorte qu'il se retirât et que M. de Vaudémont fut mit en sa place. La paix s'avançant, le Prince d'Orange se fit une véritable affaire de procurer le gouvernement du Milanais à Vaudémont, qui se trouva placé dans le plus grand et le plus brillant emploi de la monarchie d'Espagne." — *Mémoires de St.-Simon.*

As the matter is not very urgent, I think you might as well wait and see how every thing will turn out before you come to any decision.

It is true that it is difficult to judge of the affairs of a Parliament. If those who compose one party were also of one mind on public business, the affair of Mr. Montague * would be a proof that the men of that party could do what they like. I hope that your Majesty's patience will overcome the difficulties, and, since the conduct of this government does not open the eyes of the Parliament, of which they are very watchful here, and pay great attention to all that it does, as well as to the cashiering of the troops. I am sorry that I shall have to remain here so long: the expense is, indeed, enormous.†

From the manner in which the questions of

* In the inquiry into the grants made by King William of the forfeited estates in Ireland, a grant was found made to Mr. Railton, which Montague owned to be for his benefit. A warm debate arose thereupon, and the enemies of Montague moved that he should withdraw; which passing in the negative, it was resolved by a great majority, "that it was the opinion of this house that the Hon. Charles Montague, Esq., Chancellor of the Exchequer, for his good services to this government, did deserve his Majesty's favour." — *Parl. Hist.*, vol. v.

† Kennet says, that the embassy of the Earl of Portland cost King William fourscore thousand pounds. That is not surprising. He was accompanied by the Lords Cavendish, Hastings, Paston, Raby, and Woodstock, Mr. Fielding, Colonel Stanhope, Mr. Charles Boyle, Mr. Prior, and several other English gentlemen; and attended by a gentleman of the horse, twelve pages, fifty-six footmen, twelve led horses, five coaches with eight horses, and two chariots and six.

commerce with Holland are treated, it may be inferred that it is by no means their intention to keep the treaty of peace, inasmuch as they declare positively to the Dutch merchants that they shall not have what is granted to them by the said treaty, which is the treaty of the year 1664.

Your Majesty will see by my letter of yesterday that they wanted to impose upon me in the affair of the ceremonial, and but for the very positive answer which I returned I believe that they would have insisted. You may judge of the whole piece by all these samples.

I have this moment been informed that MONSIEUR has spoken to the King about allowing me to pay my respects to him at Marly. This his Majesty has granted; but he did not wish me to go there now, because the fountains are not yet in order owing to the ice, and he wants me to see them in all their splendour. I do not think he will return thither till they are in order, which will probably not be before Easter.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, March 1—11. 1698.

I learn with pleasure, that the affairs in Sweden appear to be taking a more favourable turn. I should like if it were possible to renew the treaties of alliance with that crown; but, especially, as you rightly judge, it would be necessary to comprise in them the guarantee of the treaty of Ryswick.

Since Mr. van Heekerem* protracts his stay in Sweden so long, it appears to me that, seeing the state of affairs is changing for the better, he should profit by it, to complete as much as possible the matter concerning the alliance, for, it might happen, that in the sequel, we might not have so favourable an opportunity, and the party of France might easily regain the upper hand. The project of a treaty to be concluded with Denmark, which you have transmitted to me, pleases me much, but I can scarcely imagine that it will succeed.

From the conversation which you have had with Bonrepos, I perceive that matters still go on in the old way. I confess, that if the Republic were forced to abandon the tariff, contrary to the express letter of the treaty, there would be no longer any reliance to be placed on the treaties with France, and that the most deplorable consequences would result for all other affairs. On the other hand, it is now impossible to draw us, on this ground, into a new war, without which, nevertheless, no remedy is to be expected. But it will be the same with every other infraction of the treaties; and where will that end?

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Kensington, March 2.—12. 1698.

I am very glad to learn from your dispatches of the 7th and 8th, which I have received this

* Ambassador of the States-General to the court of Sweden.

morning, that my letters have reached you safely, and that you continue to receive so many marks of attention and civility. For the things, &c. &c.* I do not believe that you have ground for much hope. I shall not speak to Count Tallard concerning the removal of King James till you think it is time to do so, though I do not see that there can be much harm in it. I have nothing to add, with respect to business, to what I stated in my preceding letters. Things remain *in statu quo*.

I shall see the Duke of Shrewsbury at the beginning of next week, after which I shall be better able to inform you of all our intrigues here. I do not think that I can appoint, or, at any rate, send, an ordinary ambassador to France before your departure, for reasons which I will explain on your return. I think that Prior must be left there till I send one.

This is all that I have to say to you at present, and that it is impossible to be more deeply attached to you than I am, and shall be to my last breath.

As I lately mentioned my health, I must now tell you that it is as good as usual; and, as the fine weather now begins to set in, I shall be able to be more in the open air and take exercise. I have been three weeks together without going down stairs. I cannot conceal from you that I have never been more vexed and melancholy in all my life than I am now.

* Sic in the original.

THE EARL OF PORTLAND TO WILLIAM III.

(No. I.)

Paris, March 13. 1698.

After the second letter which I had the honour of writing to your Majesty on the 8th, I made my *entrée* on the following day. Mr. Prior will send you an account of the ceremonial, for the use of the ambassadors who may succeed me. * The whole passed without any difficulty or dispute, till I had been conducted to the hotel of the ambassadors. The King had sent the Duke d'Aumont, his first gentleman of the bedchamber, to compliment me. After this, the Duchess of Burgundy sent the Marquis de Villacerf. They then began to make new pretensions, requiring me to go and receive him half way down the steps, as I had done the former nobleman; and I refused to receive him except at the door of the ante-chamber, which is at the top of the stairs. This gave rise to a lengthened dispute, during which he was standing half-way up the steps, and I at the top, while messengers passed backwards and forwards between us. At length I sent him word that I would descend some steps to meet him, and, that if this did not content him, it would be best for each of

* "9 Mars.— Milord Portland fit son entrée à Paris, qui fut magnifique, mais moins cependant qu'on l'avait cru." — *Dangeau.*

The *Manuscript Journal* is probably a copy of the diary written by Prior. The account of the *entrée* is omitted: it is of great length, and presents no interest.

us to go our own way without my having the honour of seeing him, for that undoubtedly I should do no more; upon which he came up. On going out I had another difficulty: in conducting him back to the carriage I did not see him depart, on which the conductor of ambassadors made great complaints to me. A moment afterwards the Marquis de Sassenage came, the same differences arose: the conductor of ambassadors behaved impertinently in public, which obliged me to treat him as became a person who has the honour to represent your Majesty; upon which the dispute ended for the time, and I received the latter as I had done the former; but the conductor of ambassadors was confounded and irritated.

After this, the Marquis de la Rongère came from MADAME; but the conductor of ambassadors came to inquire whether I would receive him as he desired. I replied, that I should receive him as I had received the gentleman who came from MONSIEUR. He said, that I ought at least to see him depart after having conducted him down the steps, and that otherwise he would not get out of his carriage. I replied, then he might remain in it, for I should not receive the gentleman whom MADAME sent to me otherwise than I had received the gentleman who came from MONSIEUR; that it was contrary to all that had ever been done, and contrary to the memoranda which my instructions bound me to follow; upon which he retired abruptly, though he was to have staid and supped with me.

On the following day I sent to Versailles to complain of these annoyances, and of the conductor of ambassadors who had occasioned them, to M. de Pomponne and M. de Torcy; and also to express to MONSIEUR and MADAME how much I was vexed at what had happened. I believed that from the difficulties raised by M. de Torcy in his answer, I should have to encounter yet more at the audience. I did not, however, send to either of the conductors of ambassadors, but towards noon they both called upon me; first Sainctot, and afterwards Boneuil, who had been the cause of all these annoyances. I spoke to him as was befitting: he was ashamed and speechless, for I believe that he had already received a lecture at Versailles, of which this was a second edition.

We arranged every thing for the audience, which was to take place on the following day, and which passed over without any difficulty or annoyance, as far as I know. I was very well received by the King, who repeated and renewed his assurances and testimonies of esteem for your Majesty, and his desire to cultivate your friendship and to maintain the peace, in the most courteous and gratifying terms.

No allusion was made by any one to what had passed the evening before; and as I had not been the sufferer, I did not think proper to speak of it till my audiences were all over, excepting that of the Duchess de Chartres, whom I cannot see, because she is near her confinement.

I afterwards went to the Marquis de Torcy, to

whom I made great complaints, telling him every thing that had passed the day before, the impertinence and duplicity of the conductor of ambassadors, and what he had alleged to induce me to do as he wished; adding, that I came to inform him that it was not through ignorance that I had requested an audience of MADAME and the Duke de Chartres, from whom I had received no compliments, but that I had done it to prove to the King that my only desire was to smooth the difficulties which were thrown in my way. He said, after my first complaint, that I might have had my audiences without any difficulty, because it was I myself who had declined receiving those who had been sent to compliment me, and had sent them away. I am to see all the princes and princesses of the blood in a few days.

(No. II.)

Your Majesty will have seen from my other letter, and my narrative, all that passed at my *entrée* and at the audience. Every imaginable difficulty and annoyance was thrown in my way; to such a degree that, though I am neither very positive nor very obstinate, I was compelled to do violence to my natural disposition and to become cavilling and captious in order to maintain what is only just and reasonable. Without this it is impossible to avoid getting into trouble with the people with whom you have to do on such occa-

sions; and, in my case, difficulties have been raised on every conceivable point, and as I do not understand the ceremonial, I am embarrassed by them, and can only meet them with obstinacy, which is here rather indispensable.

At my *entrée* I was much surprised to see the great concourse, not only of the lower orders of Paris, whose curiosity is a matter of course, but all the people of quality in the city, of all ages and both sexes, were looking out at the windows and the balconies. As I passed over the Pont Neuf, some persons exclaimed, "Good Heaven! what do we witness to-day? A scene that demands our attention: — the solemn entry of a monarch whom for the last eight years we have been burning on this same bridge!" *

At my public audience I was received in the most gracious manner; the throng and press were so great that I was a long time in the room before I could reach the King, whom I saw, and by whom I was seen, without being able to get near him.

* "2 Août, 1690.—A Paris on a fait des feux de joie sur la nouvelle de la mort du Prince d'Orangé, que le Roi n'a pas approuvés. Mais les magistrats n'ont pu contenir le peuple." *Dangeau.*—"On ne se contenta pas à Paris de feux de joie sur la prétendue mort du Prince d'Orange. Ce furent des tables établies dans les rues, où les passants étaient arrêtés pour boire, et il n'était pas sûr de le refuser. Les carrosses et les plus grands seigneurs subissaient comme les autres cette folie, qui s'était tournée en fureur, dont le Prince d'Orange fut encore plus flatté, quoique piqué, et que la police eut grand peine à faire cesser."—*Note de l'Anonyme* (*Saint-Simon*).

When, at length, I approached him, he spoke first, and said that he much regretted the trouble which I had had in entering, but that he rejoiced to see so many English and French mingled together. After I had spoken, the King replied in a speech fully as long as mine, and in terms as strong and favourable to your Majesty as it was possible to use; and reiterated the assurances of his desire to cultivate your Majesty's friendship. He said a few things extremely flattering to myself, personally, and dismissed me, as he had spoken, with a gracious smile upon his countenance.

Your Majesty is too well acquainted with this nation not to understand how the courtiers exaggerate all this, and call my attention to what the King said and did, noticing that he was never seen to speak to an ambassador first, or in so familiar a manner. But it is not a little absurd, that they are, or seem to be, surprised at my not having been embarrassed at seeing the King surrounded by such a multitude of courtiers.

I have taken care, Sire, in all the incidents which have occurred respecting MONSIEUR and MADAME, to keep on good terms with them. MONSIEUR, who understands etiquette, says that I was entirely in the right, and blames the conductors of ambassadors; so that, at all events, they are satisfied with me.

Yesterday I duly received the letter which your Majesty did me the honour to write on the 26th of last month, and I am delighted that your Majesty approves my conduct. It is well that these

reports of the refusal proceed from the Jacobites, and have no semblance of being altered by coming from your people, though neither will have any great effect on the parliament, which is insensible to every thing but party interests: this is the effect of the triennial bill.*

I hope that the return of Lord Shrewsbury may contribute to unite the Whigs, and inspire them with other sentiments on the subject of Lord Sunderland. I am extremely vexed that I shall be obliged to stay here so long: the expenses

* A few days after the meeting of the Parliament (Nov. 12. 1694), with the supply bills, which were granted without opposition, and, according to Burnet, "as the price or bargain for them," the bill for frequent parliaments went on. It was prepared by order of the Commons, and brought in by Mr. Harley, on the 22d of November, and passing the House, in a few days was sent to the Lords, who gave it their concurrence without any amendment. Four days after, on the 22d Dec., the King gave it the royal assent. It enacted that a new parliament should be called every third year. "This act," says Burnet, "was received with great joy, many fancying that all their other laws and liberties were now the more secure, since this was passed into a law. The people thought it would put an end to the great corruption with which elections were formerly managed, and to all those other practices that accompanied them. Men that intended to sell their own votes within doors spared no cost to buy the votes of others in elections, but now it was hoped we should see a golden age, wherein the character men were in, and the reputation they had, would be the prevailing considerations in elections: and by this means it was hoped that our constitution, in particular that part of it which related to the House of Commons, would again recover both its strength and reputation, which was now very much sunk; for corruption was so generally spread, that it was believed every thing was carried by this method."

will be very great.* Your Majesty says, that I am very fortunate in being absent, and not seeing what I cannot remedy; but is it not the same here, where so many annoyances besides are thrown in my way respecting the ceremonies, and every kind of business?

I confess, that if all I see of the King is not sincere, it is a comedy admirably performed; and this I have reason to fear from what I see of the ministers, for they will not even refuse, with a good grace, what they do not intend to grant; nor attempt to cover with plausible reason things for which, in fact, there is none. This seems to me to be contrary to their own interest, which unquestionably is to amuse us with fair words, as they did Holland, whose eyes they have at length opened by the commercial affair.

If I am not mistaken, the ministers of this Court do not clearly understand the temper of the people of our countries; for, whatever may be their design, they ought to endeavour to make different impressions upon us, either to lure us, if they mean to deceive us, or to gain our confidence, if their intentions are sincere.

I should not have failed, Sire, to do every

* "Our staying here much longer will cost dear; the expenses of this embassy run so very high, that it is hardly to be imagined what money it comes to. We live with great magnificence; and all the French must confess, they never saw such splendour in equipage, table and liveries. They do all the honour to his Excellency that can be desired."—*M. van Leven, secretary to the Earl of Portland, to Mr. Carstares, secretary to King William.—Paris, April* 28.

thing I could for the Prince de Vaudémont, well knowing your sentiments respecting him, even if you had not written to me on the subject.

MEMORANDUM ON THE AFFAIRS OF ENGLAND.

February 13. 1698.

Since the first memorandum on the affairs of England things have happened which may give reason to believe that they will have further consequences, and that, if during the war, the usurper has scarcely found any difficulties either to obtain the immense subsidies which he has drawn from the nation, or to violate, in so many ways, the laws and the liberty of which it was formerly so jealous, it may soon resume its ancient spirit, and become more difficult to govern during peace than it was during the war.

* This memorandum, the original of which is in the handwriting of the Abbé Renaudot, was probably written on the information of the friends of the Stuarts in England, which accounts for the many errors it contains. It was no doubt designed for the instruction of Count Tallard.—The Abbé Renaudot, son of Renaudot, founder of the Gazette de France, born at Paris, 20th of July, 1646, was famed for his oriental scholarship: he died at Paris, 1st September, 1720. He had been early admitted to the intimate friendship of Bossuet, the family of Colbert, Ponchartrain, the Chancellor Boucherat; and as he turned out to be the only Frenchman in whom the ministry had full confidence, who was acquainted with English, he served as an interpreter and go-between to the English, Scotch, and Irish refugees, who had followed the fortune of James II.

We have already seen that a part of what was expected happened with respect to Lord Sunderland. He has scarcely taken any part in public affairs since the Revolution; he has, since then, had no share in the confidence of the new king, except through Lord Portland, with whom he was on terms of great intimacy shortly before the retaking of Namur. It has been seen, by a letter intercepted at that time, that the chief aim of this connexion was to ruin the Duke of Leeds*, insisting that he

* Sir Thomas Osborne was made treasurer of the navy in the year 1671, and the next year, one of the privy council. On June 19. 1673, he was constituted lord high-treasurer of England, and created a few months after Baron of Kiveton and Viscount Latimer. The year following, he was advanced to the dignity and title of Earl of Danby. Burnet speaks of him as "a gentleman of Yorkshire, whose estate was much sunk." He was, adds Burnet, "a very plausible speaker, but too copious. He had been always among the high cavaliers; and missing preferment, he had opposed the court much, and was one of Lord Clarendon's bitterest enemies. He was an implacable enemy: but he had a peculiar way to make his friends depend on him. He was a positive and undertaking man. He got into the highest degree of confidence with King Charles, and maintained it the longest of all that ever served him." In 1675 he was attacked by the House of Commons, but in vain; and two years after, seeing his ruin was inevitable, unless he could bring the King off from the French interest, he brought about the marriage between the Princess Mary and the Prince of Orange. In the next year, he was accused of treating with France for a pension to King Charles, and was soon after impeached of high treason; but in 1679, a new parliament was summoned, and Lord Danby resolved to leave the treasury; and when the new house fell upon him, he took out a pardon

should be deprived of the office of president of the council, which he could not obtain. He was also of opinion that the Parliament should be dissolved, in order that another might be chosen; but this advice had not the success that was hoped for ; nay, just the contrary; so that in the confusion caused by the conspiracy which spread terror among the best intentioned persons, he lost all his credit. He was, however, beginning in some measure to recover it, and had obtained the office of chamberlain, when his enemies began again to act against him. There were not many points to object to him, because he had not been in the ministry since the Revolution: matters of a more ancient date were sought out, and we may infer, from what has happened to him, what those persons have to fear who have taken a leading part in public affairs, since all that can be brought forward against Lord Sunderland, from the time of the preceding reigns, is nothing

from the great seal: notwithstanding which the Commons prosecuted him, and a bill of attainder was brought in ; but before it had passed, he delivered himself up, and was sent to the Tower, where he remained five years. Lord Danby took an active part in bringing about the Revolution, which atoned in some measure for his proceedings under Charles II.; and King William, who had not forgotten the active part he had taken in his own marriage with the Queen, created him Marquis of Carmarthen, and made him president of the council. He is said to have aimed at the treasurer's staff, but being disappointed in this, he became soon very much dissatisfied with the King and the state of affairs. On May 1694, he was created Duke of Leeds, "to colour the dismissing him from business," says Burnet, "with the increase of title."

in comparison of what may be produced against some who have since held, or are now in, office.*

* Robert Spencer, second Earl of Sunderland, was born in 1641. He succeeded when a child to the title and estates of his father, who was killed at the battle of Newbury. His first public appointment was that of ambassador extraordinary to the court of Spain in 1671. He was next sent ambassador to Paris, and afterwards as one of the plenipotentiaries at Cologne. He returned to England in 1674 when he was made a privy councillor. Five years afterwards he went a second time to Paris as envoy, and, upon his return home, was appointed one of the secretaries of state. The remarkable, and not very honourable part he acted during the reign of King James is well known. On the eve of the Revolution he was a traitor to his master, having, through the medium of his uncle Henry Sidney, afterwards Lord Romney, secured the favour of the Prince of Orange; but not daring to remain in England, he fled to Holland. Though he was expressly excepted from the bill of indemnity, he returned in 1691, and found very soon the means to ingratiate himself in the favour of King William, who gave him a pension of 2000*l.* a year. "I have always been persuaded," remarks Lord Hardwicke, "from the signal confidence which King William reposed in Lord Sunderland, through the whole course of his reign, that he had received some particular services from him at the time of the Revolution, which no one else could have performed; and perhaps this reserved and cautious prince liked him the better for being only his man; both parties (and no wonder) were much embittered against him." "The person," says Burnet, "that had the King's confidence to the highest degree was the Earl of Sunderland, who, by his long experience and his knowledge of men and things, had gained an ascendant over him, and had more credit with him than any Englishman ever had." On April 19th, 1697, he was appointed lord chamberlain; the King having given 10,000*l.* to the Earl of Dorset to quit this place; and three days after he was sworn of the privy council, and declared one of the lords justices of England for the administration of the government during the King's absence. This mark of

It must be remarked, as a very important point, that this nobleman, who belongs to the oldest no-

favour was the signal for a general attack upon him from the Whigs as well as from the Tories. "During these debates" (on the reduction of the army), says Burnet, "the Earl of Sunderland had argued with many upon the necessity of keeping up a greater force: this was in so many hands, that he was charged as the author of the counsel, of keeping on foot a standing army: so he was often named in the House of Commons, with many severe reflections. The Tories pressed hard upon him, and the Whigs were so jealous of him, that he, apprehending that, while the former would attack him, the others would defend him faintly, resolved to prevent a public affront, and to retire from the Court and from business; not only against the entreaties of his friends, but even the King's earnest desire that he would continue about him." To this passage of Burnet's, Speaker Onslow has affixed the following note: "Some of his friends told him they had computed how the numbers would run in the House of Commons upon any address that should be moved for there against him; and that they did not think there could be more than 160 for it. '160 (said he) for it! that is more than any man can stand against long; I am sure I won't;' and so resigned his staff and key the next day," (26th Dec. 1697). "The King," writes Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury, "the King is very much concerned at his going off; he has been keeping it there three Sundays successively, and all endeavours used to turn him from it. The King finds himself in great want of some one he may be free with." "Upon this occasion, his Majesty," says Burnet, "expressed such a concern and value for him, that the jealousies were increased. The Whig leaders hated Lord Sunderland violently, and could not forgive him for the ascendant he had gained over King William." "He said," wrote Vernon, "it was not on account of the Parliament only that he came to this resolution, for he had otherwise led the life of a dog, having done all that was in his power for the service of a party, whom he would never oblige to live easily with him or to treat him with common civility."

bility, has found no support in the Upper House; that among the Commons, notwithstanding the great number of members devoted to the Court, it was not ventured to run the risk of allowing the heads of accusation prepared against him to be brought forward, for fear he should succumb under them. Thus the only step that he could take was to resign his offices and retire into the country, which shows that he whom he had so faithfully served, to the prejudice of his faith and of his conscience, either was not strong enough to support him, or did not take much trouble to do so; and either of those alternatives must have a bad effect for the present government. For the nobles, who have thought only of paying their court to King William at the expense of the laws and the public interests of the nation, cannot be much encouraged to continue to act on the same principle, when they see he so easily abandons those of whom he thinks he has no longer need, or whom he is not able to support; thus, one way or the other, this cannot fail to make a bad impression on the minds of the nobles and of all the nation, especially when it may be suspected that there is some weakness, for an English noble does not much mind being on bad terms with the Court, inasmuch as he is able to support himself by joining the popular party.

This affair may therefore be considered as likely to be followed by many others of the same kind; and if the nation suspects the government of some weakness, it can scarcely be doubted that the

ministers will each have his turn, and that the Dutch favourites will be attacked.

If this should happen, and we may suppose that nothing is more probable, it is almost certain that they will fall, for they have conducted themselves with so little caution that they may be convicted by public notoriety of all sorts of bribery; that is, transacting public business for the sake of money, not to speak of the enormous presents which they have obtained, and of which they will hardly avoid being obliged, sooner or later, to give an account in Parliament.

It is therefore highly important, for the service of the King*, to discover, as far as possible, what are the feelings of the two Houses on this subject, in order not to reckon, as has sometimes been done on persons near their fall, and not rashly to confide in accredited ministers, whose ruin never fails to be attended with unpleasant consequences to those who enter into too intimate a connexion with them. It may be remembered, on this occasion, that the too great confidence, which M. de Barillon placed in Lord Sunderland deprived him of that of all the other nobles, and of the ministers who knew him well. The latter made use of him only to deprive of all credit what Lord Preston and Mr. Skelton might discover, and, in fact, did discover, respecting his connexions with the Prince of Orange, and produced an infinity of other evils, which led to the war. In short, when the Revolu-

* Louis XIV.

tion commenced, and friends were needed as well to serve King James, as for the service of the King, none were found among the deputies of the Convention-Parliament, nor in the Upper or Lower House. It seems therefore to be of the highest importance to pay great attention to this subject, and to consider that those who negotiate in England, and who fancy that they can effect every thing with the ministry, and with the Court, are generally deceived, to the detriment of the affairs of the King, their master.

This precaution is the more important at present, inasmuch as from what we learn, on very good authority, the English nobility were never more discontented than they are at present with those who possess the entire confidence of the master whom they have set over them. They are all convinced that they have no share in his confidence.* They see with indignation, the Dutch

* It is but too true, that King William did not impart affairs of importance to his ministers. During the first years of his reign, Portland was his only agent. On the Earl of Portland retiring from court after his return from his embassy to France, Lord Albemarle was, to a certain extent, and further than has been supposed, in the secret of affairs. The Earl of Sunderland also possessed the confidence of King William, though not in the Cabinet. Of all the ministers of that time, Lord Somers alone enjoyed some share of the royal confidence ; and it is to this that allusion is made in the expression which occurs in a letter of the King to the Earl of Portland (Feb. 13—23): "The chancellor, as you know, is the only minister who is left to me." It appears by the Shrewsbury correspondence, p. 371., that the Duke, though secretary of state, and in a manner Prime Minister, was entirely kept by the King out of the secret of the

loaded with wealth and honours, especially the last favourite, who is a young man, of great insolence and dissipation. It is affirmed that they already complain openly that the honour of the first solemn embassy was not given to an Englishman. In fact, but few noblemen have sent their sons with this embassy, though this is generally done. Every day we hear of divers new circumstances which confirm what we have before learnt, and the distrust which the Dutch favourites seem to have of the English is a certain proof of it. This being the case, it seems to be prudent to return the good understanding with these ministers so as not to lose the confidence of the others, or that of the nation, which sooner or later will make some grand attack upon them. This appears to be the more necessary under the present circumstances, as the

negotiations which ended in the peace of Ryswick, and this mark of distrust doubtlessly was a great cause of his retirement. We shall presently see no less striking proofs of the King's constant violation of the principles established by the British constitution, and of the exclusion of all those whom, whether under the name of privy or cabinet councillors, the nation holds responsible for its safety, from the most important negotiations of this reign. But such was the conduct of King William from his landing in England, and we find in a letter of intelligence, written from London, probably by a Jacobite (Oct. 17–27, 1689), the following passage: —" Ceux de la noblesse qui étaient les plus grands favoris sont présentement négligés et très-mécontents. . . Ni le comte de Danby, ni le comte de Shrewsbury, non plus que le marquis d'Halifax, ne font aucune figure dans le conseil, toutes les affaires d'importance étant faites dans le cabinet, où il n'entre que Bentinck et les ambassadeurs de Hollande, ce qui fait enrager tous les anglais."

ambassadors who would have credit with those who have no share in public affairs, and who are discontented, or but little favourable to the government, would be much more powerful than those who had the entire confidence of the new king, and the favourites, to which in all probability they do not pretend.

Among the Peers there is a party formed against the Court. We may reckon as belonging to this party, in the first place, those who have retained some affection for their legitimate sovereign; and, though they are few in number, there are certainly some. His Majesty has often been informed of this before, and several of them are known. Now the principal of them have caused King James to be assured that, notwithstanding present circumstances, they will always be ready to serve him when opportunity offers. There are some who have not thought fit to take the oath to the Prince of Orange, though King James has let them know that he would not take it amiss of them. Notwithstanding this permission, there are some who still decline doing it. The most eminent persons of the Anglican Church must also be considered as not well disposed to the present government; as well as all those who have refused to sign the association, those who have protested against the sentence of death passed upon Fenwick, who being of a very old noble family, and son-in-law of the Earl of Carlisle, was allied to a great number of noblemen, who have not been rendered by his death more attached to him who occasioned it, by causing, through

intrigues in the Lower House, contrary to the laws, the ordinary forms of justice to be perverted. It may therefore be easily inferred that if an ambassador were too intimately connected with the Court, besides that he would be liable to be deceived every day, he would draw on himself and his master the hatred of a very considerable portion of a nation which is always able to make the effects felt by consenting to a declaration of war against France, and by favouring the means of supporting it. It is well known that this is the infallible resource of the kings of England to get rid of domestic troubles. But if we aim at the good will of the nation by gaining credit with those who have authority among the people, we may baffle all the designs of the new king, when they are not consistent with the welfare of the people.

Nevertheless, it is not meant by what has been hitherto said on the subject, that an ambassador should have open connexions with discontented or suspected persons. On the contrary, he must beware of doing so, for people would not fail on such an occasion to propagate rumours calculated to increase the jealousy of the nation, under the pretext of designs to oppress religion and liberty. It is necessary to manage these connexions with prudence, and without affectation; to flatter the pride of the English nobles by all kinds of attentions; take their part in trivial matters; strive to gain the friendship of those who are in credit, and to do nothing, except through a third party, in all that

may affect interests hostile to those of the Court; not to suffer any one to speak of King James in terms of disrespect, but still to have no intercourse with those whose Jacobitism is too manifest; and so on with other matters.

It may be positively affirmed that part of the subjects which entirely engross the attention of the new king and of his creatures, are very indifferent to the nation at large. It appears from all his proceedings, and by all the precautions which he takes for the safety of his person, which are carried to excess, that he is still uneasy respecting King James and the Prince of Wales. He needed a general terror, like that which was spread on the occasion of the conspiracy, to get passed by a few votes the untoward oath of association, which several persons have protested against, and have not yet taken. The great body of the nation do not seem at all uneasy on the subject. If Parliament persists in refusing to keep up the army, as may be expected, this is a still more convincing proof, either that it fears nothing from France, with respect to King James, or that it does not look on his restoration in the same light that the Prince of Orange does. This being the case, it does not appear that there is any occasion to be much troubled about anything that he or his council may demand on that subject, beyond what has been regulated by the treaties of peace.

For we believe that we are not mistaken in affirming that the support which his Majesty has given to King James, and the manner in which

he has treated him, have gained him the respect and the affection of the sound part of a nation which is the hereditary enemy of France. These same persons, who preserve their attachment for their legitimate sovereign, form a considerable body in the Church and the country; and so long as they see the subject of their hopes in safety under the protection of the King, they are well-disposed towards France, and but little attached to the present government. But if they saw the slightest weakness on this side, all their affection would change into implacable hatred, of which, in case of rupture, the enemies of France would make great use in parliament.

Perhaps it may not be amiss to make the King's ambassador acquainted with all those who have been spoken of above; but he cannot be too strongly advised to observe secrecy on this subject; and it is not thought by any means advisable that he should seem to have received any information from the court of St. Germains.

It is proper that he should be informed of what relates to the Prince of Wales, the qualities of his body and mind, which give grounds to hope well of him, of the good education which he receives, and other such circumstances, for he will have occasion to make use of them.

He should also be acquainted with all the real circumstances relative to the designs undertaken against the government since the Revolution, the conspiracies, &c., in order that he may be able, at the right time and place, to prove to the English,

that they have been amused by an infinity of falsehoods, and that no plot has ever been entered into here against the person of the Prince of Orange.

Too much caution cannot be observed with respect to the French refugees, whatever good intentions they may profess. They have always served as spies to the enemies of the King, and in England they have no credit with the nation, being greatly hated by the people, and for the most part little esteemed by persons in authority.

Before the end of the session of Parliament they will endeavour to obtain general naturalisation, in compensation for the loss of all hope of being restored to France. The King's service requires that his Majesty's ambassador shall not permit any thing to be stated in their petitions relative to the revocation of the edicts which may be offensive to his Majesty; and if there is an opportunity to counteract them in the prosecution of this business, as there certainly will be, it appears advisable to do so; for the more unfavourable the situation of the refugees, the more submissive the new stubborn converts who remain in the kingdom will become, and will think seriously of having themselves instructed. Besides, the new king will lose a great support if he is obliged to disband the regiments which he has formed of them, or if he has no other means of maintaining them than by largesses from his own purse.

The Quakers were at first much attached to the lawful sovereign, and rendered good service, espe-

cially Mr. Penn, their patriarch; but they have long since changed their measures, and Penn has been false. At present they are divided, and no use can be made of them.

Too much esteem and respect cannot be shown to the prelates of the Anglican Church, several of whom entertain sentiments favourable to King James, as also to the Duke of Leeds, the Earls of Clarendon and Rochester *, and several others, who may be easily known.

* The Duke of Leeds was always much attached to the interests of the Church. He was, during the reign of Charles II., the patron of the Church party, and according to Sir John Reresby, a few days after the Settlement, he reproached King William with encouraging the Presbyterians, and disheartening the Church.

Lord Clarendon and Lord Rochester were the sons of the Chancellor Clarendon, and by their sister, the late Duchess of York, uncles of the Princess Ann, and the late Queen Mary. The first was a Jacobite, but his brother had connected himself with the government, and was one of the chiefs of the tory party.

Instructions of Count Tallard, his Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary to the King of England.

Versailles, March 2. 1698.

The deference which the princes engaged in the league have had for the sentiments of the king of England caused him to be regarded during the last war, as the most considerable of the enemies whom the jealousy of the power of the King had raised up against his Majesty. The plenty which that prince found in England, and the absolute authority which he has retained in Holland, rendered him master of the wealth of the two nations; they furnished him with means to keep up the numerous armies which appeared every year in the Netherlands, and to preserve by the subsidies which he furnished to his allies, a union which it is so difficult to maintain among numerous powers whose interests are conflicting. Accordingly, the losses which the Spaniards sustained of their most important fortresses; the battles, and the great advantages gained by the armies of his Majesty, were insufficient to force the enemy to seek for peace, if there had not been the same superiority in the means which the King possessed to meet the expenses of the war. The wisdom of his Majesty, his foresight, the sagacity of his projects, the good order which he had introduced into his affairs, enabled him to dictate the terms of the treaties of peace, and excited admiration for his moderation in terminating this very war, which ten years before,

Europe had considered would prove the infallible ruin of France.

The riches of England and Holland being exhausted, the first appearances of peace began to be manifested. At length its perfect re-establishment has been due to the King, when general tranquillity could no longer be expected, except from his generosity, and when the schemes of his enemies after being so often defeated, sufficiently proved that they could not expect, except from him alone, those important conquests which his Majesty has been pleased to sacrifice to the general tranquillity.

The same motives which have induced him to renounce his own advantages in order to allay the troubles of Christendom, oblige him also to provide against every contingency which might disturb this tranquillity, and to direct all his care to the maintenance of the exact observance of the treaties.

The influence which the king of England has acquired, and which his kingdom has always had in the principal affairs of Europe, gives just ground to believe that the good understanding between his Majesty and that prince will contribute more than anything else to the preservation of peace.

The king of England, on his part, has given the most positive assurances of a real desire punctually to observe all the conditions; and when he appointed the Earl of Portland ambassador extraordinary to his Majesty, the choice of a minister who has always enjoyed the principal share in the con-

fidence of that prince was considered as a confirmation of his good intentions.

His Majesty, desirous also on his part of sending an ambassador to England, for the maintenance of a good understanding with that crown, has chosen Count Tallard.

The knowledge most necessary for enabling an ambassador to execute with success the orders with which he is charged, is that of the country to which he is sent, of the disposition of the prince, and of the allegiance of the people to his government. The intention of the King is, therefore, in the first place to acquaint Count Tallard with all that his Majesty knows of the affairs of England; next to explain to him the business which he will have to transact in the course of his embassy; and lastly to point out to him the line of conduct which he is to pursue with respect both to the king of England and to the nation.

Though the revolution which has taken place in that kingdom has entirely changed the aspect of affairs, and though an ambassador must observe different rules from those which might have been prescribed in all the preceding reigns, it may nevertheless be affirmed as an unvarying rule, that the English will always make a distinction in their mind between the private interests of their king and the interests of the nation; and, that whatever submission they may show to the reigning monarch, they will equally dread the augmentation of his power, and the apprehension of arbitrary sway will be a perpetual source of the opposition which the

kings of England will meet with in their parliaments. If they have appeared submissive since the Prince of Orange ascended the throne, and have readily voted all the subsidies which he required, it was to be expected that they would support a prince whom they had themselves invited, and that they would provide for the expenses of a war which they had too eagerly desired, not to contribute towards it to the utmost of their power. The subsidies which they granted to the king of England enabled him besides to gain over the members of Parliament.*

* "1690.—Sir John Trevor, the speaker of the House of Commons, was a bold and dexterous man. Being a tory in principle, he undertook to manage that party, provided he was furnished with such sums of money as might purchase some votes; and by him began the practice of buying off men, in which, hitherto, the King had kept to stricter rules. I took the liberty once to complain to the King of this method: he said, he hated it as much as any man could do; but he saw it was not possible, considering the corruption of the age, to avoid it, unless he would endanger the whole.

"1692.—The taking off parliament men, who complained of grievances, by places and pensions, was believed to be now generally practised.

"1693.—When the party, that was set against the Court, saw they could carry nothing in either House of Parliament, then they turned their whole strength against the present parliament, to force a dissolution; and in order to that, they first loaded it with a name of an ill sound; and whereas King Charles's long parliament was called the pensioner parliament, they called this the officers' parliament; because many that had commands in the army were of it: and the word, that they gave out among the people, was, that we were to be governed by a standing army and a standing parliament. They tried to carry a bill, that rendered all members of the House of Com-

He was master of their deliberations, because the very subsidies of the nation gave him the means of disposing of all the votes: but as these aids have diminished of late years, the late parliaments have been in proportion less favourable than the former. We may judge of the authority which the king of England will have henceforward in his kingdom, by the resolutions which the assembled parliament will take respecting the sums which in future are to constitute the revenues of that prince. He will be master of the nation if he can dispense with asking further assistance; but the boldness of the English goes very far when their king is obliged to convoke frequent parliaments in order to obtain grants of money, and that which we now see going on does not give any reason to believe that it will be possible for him to do without them.

The life of the king of England, and his conduct, have made us sufficiently acquainted with his character and his personal qualities. As Count Tallard is informed upon this subject, it will be sufficient to observe to him that we may attribute to the particular views which this prince entertained on the crown of England the opposition which

mons incapable of places of trust or profit; so that every member that accepted a place should be expelled the House, and be incapable of being chosen again, to sit in the current parliament. The truth was, it came to be observed, that some got credit by opposing the government; and that to silence them, they were preferred; and then they changed their note, and were as ready to flatter, as before to find fault." — *Burnet's History of his own Times.* Oxford edit. ii. 42. 86. 105.

he has always manifested to the interests of the King, and his close alliance with the enemies of his Majesty. He knew the temper of the English; the long tranquillity which they had enjoyed made them ignorant how burdensome the war would be to the nation. They desired war from a natural enmity to France; and these sentiments were further strengthened by the fear which they entertained of the engagements of the king, their master, with his Majesty. It was supposed that he had concluded secret treaties with him, to render himself absolute and to establish the Catholic religion in England. The interest of the Prince of Orange was to affect entirely opposite sentiments, to unite himself with the powers that were hostile to France, to excite them to war. He rendered himself at once more important in their eyes, and gained yet more upon the affection of the English by gratifying their eagerness for this war, and by evincing as much ardour in supporting the Protestant party as the king of England had showed zeal for the Catholic religion.

The peace, and the establishment of the Prince of Orange on the throne of England, removed those motives which obliged him to be adverse to the interests of the King. The English no longer wish for war. The immense expenses which they incurred in supporting the last war, are urgent reasons for them to desire peace. They have always dreaded the too great authority of their kings. War makes them the masters; they have at their disposal the troops and the means of main-

taining them, and when they are armed, the nation fears that they may infringe upon their liberty and laws, and endeavour to curtail or to suppress the privileges of which the English are so jealous. It is only by means of war that arbitrary power can be established, and the impatience which the nation manifests for the reduction of the army sufficiently proves the fear which it entertains of seeing a renewal of the war.

The king of England affirms on his side, that the state of his health, which is daily declining, makes him wish to live in repose, and that this reason combines with his desire to contribute to the preservation of general tranquillity.

When Count Tallard has lived some time in England, he will know, by his own observation, what we are to think of his real intentions. These he communicates to very few persons, and his confidence has hitherto been reserved for the Dutch alone, without admitting the English to share in it. The secretaries of state, with the exception of the Duke of Shrewsbury, have been, properly speaking, only clerks employed in writing the dispatches, without having any thing to do with the secrets. The councils meet only for form's sake, and important affairs are not discussed in them. Thus all centres in the king of England alone, and his favour seems to be shared only by the Earls of Portland and Albemarle, both of whom are Dutchmen.

The credit of the latter has considerably increased of late; he takes cognizance of all affairs:

whereas formerly he did not interfere; but it seems, from the information which his Majesty receives, that he is at present in very high favour, while that of the Earl of Portland is on the decline.

If Englishmen are employed, it is in such a manner that it is easy to see that the necessity of their services in the affairs committed to them is the sole cause of the confidence shown them by the king of England. It is thus that he employs Lord Ranelagh* and Mr. Fox† in financial affairs,

* Richard, the third Viscount and the first Earl of Ranelagh, in the peerage of Ireland. He was, says Tindal, a man of great parts, and as great vices. In Charles's time the revenue of Ireland was in his management, and he was looked upon as one of the ablest men that island had bred, capable of all affairs, even in the midst of a loose run of pleasure and much riot. He had the art of pleasing masters of very different tempers and interests so much, that he continued above thirty years in high posts. He had been paymaster of the army in King James's time, and being fit for the office, he was continued in it all the reign of William. He was among those who had voted for a regency. He was made privy-councillor in 1691. In the characters of the Court of Great Britain, written in 1714, published with Mackay's Memoirs, he is thus described: "The Earl of Ranelagh is a peer of Ireland, of a great deal of wit, had originally no great estate, yet has spent more money, built more fine houses, and laid out more on household furniture and gardening than any other nobleman in England. He is a great epicure, and prodigious expensive. . . . He is a bold man, and very happy in jests and repartees, and has often turned the humour of the House of Commons, when they have designed to be very severe."

† Sir Stephen Fox, the youngest son of William Fox, of Farley, in Wiltshire, was born on March 27th, 1627. Being in the twenty-fourth year of his age, he went to Paris with his elder brother, who had fought at the battle of Worcester. On

that he employs in the Parliament those who are gained over by the favours of the Court. It is abso-

his arrival there, as relates Lord Clarendon, he was entertained by Henry, Lord Percy, then Lord Chamberlain of the King's household; and about the latter end of the year 1652, "on the remove of his Majesty from Paris, the charge of governing the expences of his family, and of payment of the wages of the servants, and issuing of all moneys, was committed to Mr. Stephen Fox, who was well qualified with languages, and all other parts of clerkship, honesty and discretion, as was necessary for such a trust; and indeed, his great industry, modesty, and prudence, did very much contribute to the bringing the family into very good order." After the Restoration, his faithful services were rewarded, being made first clerk of the Green Cloth, and afterwards paymaster general of the forces. He was knighted in 1665. In 1679, he was appointed one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, in which place he was kept longer than could ever be said of any man but himself, having continued without intermission, in all commissions, except that in which the Earl of Rochester was Lord Treasurer, till he chose to retire from public business, in 1701. At the Revolution, he concurred in voting the throne vacant. He died in the eighty-ninth year of his age, October 28th, 1716. By his first wife he had seven sons and three daughters; and by his second, whom he married in the year 1703, when he was seventy-six years of age, he had two sons, (both of whom afterwards became peers, Stephen, Earl of Ilchester, and Henry, Lord Holland,) and two daughters. He left a very large fortune; but it would appear that he had not kept intact his reputation for integrity, as it will be seen by the following passage of a diplomatic correspondence: —

"Il y a quatre ou cinq jours qu'on présenta au roi d'Angleterre (George I.) un gentilhomme nommé le Chevalier Fox, agé de 96 ans (?), plein d'une santé robuste, remarié depuis quatre ans, et qui fait un enfant chaque année. S. M. B. ayant demandé ce qu'elle pouvait faire pour lui aider à élever sa nombreuse famille, on lui répondit qu'il n'avoit besoin de rien,

lutely necessary for him to make use of Englishmen on these occasions; and it is in like manner that he has employed the Earl of Sunderland, and seemed to have restored to him a part of the credit which he enjoyed under the preceding reigns: but events have just proved that he did not think of employing him except in so far as he could be useful to him.

The enemies of the Earl of Sunderland have formed a powerful party against him in Parliament. They were ready to bring forward a bill of indictment which they had prepared: the king of England did not think proper to support him: he has been obliged to resign his offices and to retire to the country, for fear of succumbing under the persecution of those who attacked him. We can conceive only two motives capable of having obliged the King to abandon him. The first is, perhaps, a great indifference for the only Englishman in whom he had of late manifested some confidence; the second may be ascribed to the apprehension which the king of England entertained that he should be unable to support the Earl of Sunderland against the Parliament. This last reason would show that his authority is not so well established as his partisans would represent; it would be a sure in-

ayant plus de 200,000 pièces, quoiqu'il fut né sans aucun bien. 'Et comment a-t-il fait pour en gagner tant?' reprit le Roi. 'Demandez, Sire,' dit mylord Peterborough, 'à ce seigneur, qui était dans le même cas, comme il a fait,' en montrant mylord Marlborough, qui était à côté de lui."—M. d'Iberville à M. de Torcy, Londres, 15 Novembre, 1714.

dication that he is himself sensible of it and will not expose it. If the last parliaments, even in the time of war, did not cease to give trouble to the King, and if he could only render himself master by distributing money to gain over the members, and by increasing the number of those who entered the House of Commons, there is reason to expect that he will meet with great opposition when the first means shall fail. The debts contracted during the war amount to an enormous sum; the king of England cannot pay them, except by the subsidies which will be granted to him, and these he can only obtain by convoking the Parliament.

The English are accustomed to make their kings pay dearly for such assistance. They invited him, who is now on the throne, in the hope that they should be delivered by his means from the establishment of arbitrary power; but they would not the less dread to see it in his hands. The effects of this fear are indicated, as has been already observed, by the reduction of the troops, by the smallness of the subsidies voted by the Parliament, and by the difficulties which it makes in apportioning the funds to supply them. In short, if the proposal to inquire into all the gifts bestowed upon private individuals since the year 1688 be carried into effect, there can be no doubt that it will be with a view of attacking those who have the greatest share in the confidence of the king of England, and to revoke all the benefits that have been conferred on the Dutch, who enjoy his exclusive favour.

It is even asserted that it is the intention of the Parliament to set aside, as a part of the revenues of the king of England, all the donations which it shall be thought proper to revoke; on the ground that it is not just to impose new burdens on the nation, after it has borne all those which have been necessary for the expenses of the war, when means may be found elsewhere to supply the subsidies required by the King.

Nothing is less indicative of a blind submission of the nation than the formal design of attacking the favourites, of depriving the king of England of the troops which alone could render him absolute in his kingdom; and, so to reduce his revenues, that though sufficient for the actual maintenance of his household, it will be impossible for him in future to incur the expense necessary to secure the votes of the Parliament.

This design is however so conformable to the character of the English, and to the fears which they entertain of seeing their king in a condition to violate their liberty and to destroy their privileges, that there is reason to believe that if the parliament, which is now assembled, does not carry it into execution, the next parliament will undertake to do so; inasmuch as those who will compose it, having nothing to hope from the king of England, may very likely follow the natural inclination of the nation, and the principle which it observes when free, of opposing, as far as possible, the authority of its king. This it can only do while it enjoys peace, and this, too, gives reason to

believe that it would be difficult to induce the English to recommence the war, even if the king of England were capable of failing in the assurances which he gives scrupulously to observe the treaties.

Count Tallard will know, with more certainty, when he is on the spot, than can be pointed out in these instructions, what are the real sentiments of the English, with respect to this prince, their subject of discontent, and the importance of the persons who think they have reason to complain.

There always will be a subject of division in the nation arising from the opposition of the members of the Anglican Church and of the Presbyterians. The latter, seeing a king of their own sect upon the throne, hoped, at first, soon to put down the Anglican Church. They afterwards sought for means to unite with it; but neither of these designs could succeed, and, though the king of England at first showed great respect for the Anglican Church, it appears, nevertheless, that those who are attached to it are persuaded that he wished to destroy it, and that he would do so still if he could succeed. The Duke of Leeds, was one of the persons most attached to the king of England when he was Prince of Orange, and at the beginning of his reign. He had contributed more than any other person to his marriage. The Earls of Rochester and Clarendon were uncles to the Princess of Orange. These three noblemen are considered as the most zealous friends of the interests of the Anglican Church,

and it is firmly believed that all those who entertain the same sentiments are but little attached to the present government.

There is much probability that the present parliament will not close without having discussed several affairs concerning this church; and the results of such discussions have always been of such great importance in England, that it is very necessary that Count Tallard should pay particular attention to what shall take place on this subject.

His Majesty is persuaded that on this general view of the state of England he will acquire, soon after his arrival in London, all the knowledge necessary to the success of the affairs which will be entrusted to him. The principal of these will be, apparently, the continuation of those which were discussed in the conferences that took place last summer between Marshal Boufflers and the Earl of Portland. A judgment must be formed by what passed in the private audiences which that ambassador had of the King, and by the several conversations which he held. It is also for this end that his Majesty thinks fit to recapitulate what was treated of in those conferences for the information of Count Tallard.

It is superfluous to say in what manner, and with what eagerness they were asked for by the Earl of Portland. These steps were sufficient to show that peace had become necessary to the king, his master. Count Tallard was a witness to this, and it remains only to explain to him the points

which were discussed in those conferences. They are reduced to three.

The first was a demand made to his Majesty to name expressly the king of England, who had retired to St. Germains, in the article of the Treaty, by which he engaged not to favour, directly or indirectly, the enemies of the Prince of Orange, whom he agreed to recognise as king of England.

The Earl of Portland represented at the same time, that the king, his master, could not be secure unless the king of England (James II.) retired to Rome, or to such other place as he might choose, provided it were out of France; that the party of that prince would always maintain itself in England, so long as he should be known to be near enough to keep up a correspondence with those who would be ready to support his interests; that they would be easily persuaded that the King would assist that prince in the execution of his designs; that his Majesty's subjects might contribute to it, even without his orders; and lastly, that but for this precaution the Prince of Orange, alone, would remain in a state of agitation, while the rest of Europe enjoyed peace.

As for the second article, the ambassadors of the King, at the conferences of Ryswick, had proposed that the Prince of Orange should promise to grant, as soon as he should be recognised by his Majesty, a general amnesty to all the English who had followed the party of the king of England (James II.), and to reinstate them in their property. To this proposal the Earl of Portland re-

plied in the first conference which he had with Marshal Boufflers: he represented to him that it was not only requisite for the honour of the king, his master, not to appear forced by a treaty of peace to make this promise, but also, that it was necessary to his safety not to make it; that it would be recalling his personal enemies around him; that, even if he wished it, it would not be in his power to do so, the English Parliament having passed an act which absolutely forbade it. He added, however, that when the Prince of Orange should have become by the treaty of peace the peaceful possessor of the throne, he would willingly pardon those who should appear to him to return in good faith, and act like good and loyal subjects.

The third point related to the town and principality of Orange: the Earl of Portland pretended that it would be derogating from the sovereignty of the king, his master, over that city, to bind him not to allow any Frenchman to settle there, as Marshal Boufflers had required.

The first of these three proposals was firmly rejected. It was so contrary to the honour and dignity of the King, that his Majesty wrote to Marshal Boufflers not to leave the Earl of Portland any hope of a compliance with such a demand. His Majesty desired him to tell the Earl, that the promise he had given not to afford, directly or indirectly, any assistance to the enemies of the king of England, without any exception, ought to be sufficient, without the odious precaution of naming a prince who was sufficiently comprehended

in these general terms; that it ought to be still less expected that he would cease to afford him a retreat in his kingdom; that it was the only asylum which he had found, and that the kind treatment of his Majesty had been the only alleviation of his misfortunes; that when his Majesty was willing to promise not to assist him in the projects which it was supposed he might form, to return to England, there was no reason to fear that any subjects of his Majesty would undertake to do it of themselves; that their obedience and submission were sufficiently known by all Europe to dispel this vain apprehension. In short, the firmness of the King on this article was such, that his Majesty desired Marshal Boufflers to acquaint the Earl of Portland that it would be useless to enter on the discussion of the other articles if he insisted any further on the first.

He was more compliant at the second conference: he answered, that the king, his master, was convinced of the just reasons which obliged his Majesty to refuse what was asked of him; that he insisted no further upon it, his intention not being to make demands which could cause his Majesty the least pain; but that, as the repose and the safety of the king of England were at stake, he wished that terms could be found strong enough to assure him that his Majesty would not in any manner favour the factions that might be formed in England.

No more formal renunciation of the first demand made by the Earl of Portland could be

desired; and it seemed, in fact, so precise to Marshal Boufflers that he did not think it necessary to take any notice of what the Earl of Portland said to him at the end of the conference, rather by way of conversation than as a sequel to his first proposal, namely, that the Prince of Orange hoped that, after the conclusion of peace, his Majesty would induce the king of England (James II.) to take of his own accord the resolution to leave the kingdom.

Marshal Boufflers, however, regarding only what had been agreed upon in the second conference, received in the third from the Earl of Portland the draft of an article, such as the king, his master, desired. He pretended that the king of England, who had retired into France, was not even designated in this proposal.

The King, however, did not form the same opinion of it; and, as it appeared to his Majesty that there were terms which could be only applied to that prince, he caused them to be altered, so that the article of the treaty of Ryswick was drawn up according to the changes made by his Majesty in the draught which had been presented by the Earl of Portland.

He received it from Marshal Boufflers at the fourth conference which they had together. He said, that though some further terms might still be desired, he would meanwhile be content with all that was expressed in that article; and that, knowing the intentions of the king, his master, respecting what might be agreeable to his Majesty, he

gave an assurance that he would be satisfied with this draught.

This, then, is what took place on this point in the conferences between Marshal Boufflers and the Earl of Portland. This detail will prove to Count Tallard that the removal of the king of England (James II.) was required by the Prince of Orange, and refused by the King; that the intention of his Majesty has always been to take away all hopes of obtaining it, and, that the Earl of Portland could not give a stronger proof of wholly renouncing it than by bringing himself, and afterwards receiving, the draught of an article, in which there was not only no mention made of it, but which had been corrected by the suppression of all the terms which appeared to designate the king of England (James II.).

The second point related to the general amnesty to be granted to the English who had followed the fortunes of the king, their master.

The Earl of Portland alleged all the most urgent reasons to show that the Prince of Orange could not grant it, that it would be renouncing his own safety; and he continued to show the same aversion to promise that the king, his master, would not suffer any Frenchman to settle in the town and principality of Orange. It is easy to see the importance of this last clause. All the French, of the so-called reformed faith, who had left the kingdom, flattered themselves that they should be able to return in consequence of the peace. This universal expectation being disappointed, they had

considered it as a resource to come to Orange, where they would more easily have kept up a correspondence in the provinces of the kingdom with their half-converted relatives and friends. They would have attracted many to that town. The injury would have been the greater to the Catholic religion, as this town is situated in the midst of the provinces where adherents of the so-called reformed faith are the most numerous. The retreat which they would readily have found would have soon persuaded those, whose conversions were not very sincere, to take refuge there. Thus the care, which the piety of his Majesty has caused him to take for the conversion of his subjects, would have been rendered partly useless.

It was therefore so essential to prevent the consequences which might be expected from the return of the French fugitives to Orange, and of the liberty which the new converts in the provinces of the kingdom would have had to settle there, that his Majesty was of opinion that the good of religion, and the tranquillity of his subjects, were to be preferred to the condition which he had required in favour of the English who had followed their master. It was in this view that he permitted Marshal Boufflers to yield on the second article, which related to the amnesty, in order to obtain the third relative to Orange. The latter, however, was a matter of long discussion.

It is true, that it was with all possible deference to the will of his Majesty, on the part of the king

of England (William III.), that he asked several times that the King would be pleased to regulate the article himself, with all the restrictions which he might judge necessary for the tranquillity of the kingdom, and for his entire satisfaction; but, as the Earl of Portland represented, at the same time, that it would be infringing on the sovereignty of the king of England over Orange, to bind him by an article of a public treaty, not to admit into that town those who might desire to settle there, Marshal Boufflers and the Earl of Portland agreed that the Prince should give a secret promise to his Majesty not to permit any Frenchmen to settle in the town or principality of Orange without the permission and consent of the King.

When this point was determined, the Earl of Portland asked the Marshal Boufflers if, after a certain term of two, three, or four years, his Majesty would consent that his subjects might settle at Orange, even without his permission, and without asking his consent, provided they were not suspected nor obnoxious to him. The Earl of Portland added, that this proposal must be regarded as a mere request, which it would depend on the will of his Majesty to grant or refuse, and that it was not a condition. In fine, he agreed that it should be an affair to be deferred till after the entire conclusion of the peace.

It was concluded a short time afterwards, and the king of England having appointed the Earl of Portland his ambassador extraordinary, there was reason to believe that he would ask no-

thing contrary to what had passed in the conferences in Flanders between Marshal Boufflers and himself.

Scarcely however had he arrived when he intimated to several persons that he did not expect to find King James still at St. Germains; and after having passed several days without any allusion to business, he asked for a private audience of the King.

He told his Majesty that he had desired to apply directly to him, in order to execute the instructions of the king, his master; that that prince could not be easy in England while the king, his enemy, resided in France, where it would be easy to encourage all the cabals which might be formed in his favour, to afford a retreat to the discontented, and to make it be believed, by the good treatment which he received from the King, that he might expect from him every kind of assistance; that he therefore required, on the part of his master, that his Majesty would be pleased to oblige King James not only to leave St. Germains, but also to withdraw from the kingdom; and, that he would cause all those to be arrested who should be found to have participated in the late conspiracy against the king of England: the Earl of Portland comprehended in this number the Duke of Berwick, as the chief.

There was no reason to expect that this proposal was the first and principal affair with which the Earl of Portland was entrusted. The firm and moderate answer of his Majesty must

have convinced him that the desire of restoring peace to Europe might induce him to sacrifice his own personal interests, but could not oblige him to desist from what his honour and his dignity seemed to require. It is on this basis that the King replied to the Earl of Portland that the treaties are punctually executed on his part, and that it is his intention never to deviate from them; that his Majesty will faithfully fulfil the promise which he has made, not to favour any undertaking, nor any design against the king of England, but that he cannot be required to refuse an asylum to a sovereign who has come to ask him for it; that if there were no other reason than that of the ties of blood, it would be sufficient to induce his Majesty to alleviate his misfortunes by any kind treatment which might depend on him; that he should receive no other assistance, and that the king of England is at present so well established on his throne as to have no reason to fear the disaffected; that with respect to those who are supposed to have a share in the late conspiracy, his Majesty is ignorant of the places to which they may have retired; that if the Duke of Berwick has gone to England, he has done so with a view to serve the king, his master and his father; that his Majesty then gave an army to that prince, and that it was his intention to make war by all lawful means; that, in short, the king of England might be assured of the sincere intentions of his Majesty to maintain peace; that he believed those of that prince to correspond with his own, and, that a

reciprocal good understanding was the surest means to preserve the peace of Christendom.

The Earl of Portland was silent respecting this clause after the audience which the King granted him, till the return of the courier, whom he had despatched to England to inform the king, his master, of what had passed. As soon as he had received his instructions, it appeared that his principal care was to justify the course he had pursued; and though he continued to say that the king, his master, was not safe, so long as King James should reside at St. Germains, he added, that his duty was to state the sentiments of the king who sent him; that his Majesty might think differently, that he was master in his kingdom, only that it was to be wished that he would be pleased to consent to proposals which might render the alliance more close; that, for himself, he might have dispensed with punctually executing the orders which had been given him; that he should think himself very unfortunate if he had said any thing which might displease his Majesty; that his good intentions were known when the terms of the peace were to be agreed upon; that they are not changed when it is to be preserved.

There is reason to believe that the urgent application made by the Earl of Portland to obtain the removal of King James will be the first which will be renewed to Count Tallard so soon as he arrives in England. It will be affirmed, perhaps, that this removal was promised by Marshal Boufflers in the conferences last year; lastly, the same

reasons, namely, the personal safety of the king who reigns in England, the good understanding, the preservation of peace, which were alleged by the Earl of Portland, will be again employed.

Count Tallard is to be guided strictly by what the King states to him respecting what passed at the conferences in Flanders; and what his Majesty replied to the Earl of Portland is the only rule which he wishes Count Tallard to observe, and to frame his answers accordingly. He is, besides, to omit nothing which may serve to prove the sincere desire of his Majesty to maintain peace, and to keep up a perfectly good understanding with the king of England.

There was reason to believe, when the king of England chose the Earl of Portland as his ambassador, that his commission would not be restricted to affairs concerning the personal interests of the prince. The Earl of Portland had given in that conference in Flanders the strongest assurances of the real desire of the king, his master, henceforth to merit the honour of his Majesty's friendship; to form an intimate connection with him; in short, to establish for ever the perfect understanding which the good of Europe required, and by joint consent to take all the measures necessary to preserve the general peace. It appeared, then, that the king of England, foreseeing the most important event which may give reason to fear the interruption of peace, had chosen the same minister to propose to his Majesty the precautions which that prince considered ought to be taken to prevent the renewal of troubles

which the death of the king of Spain might one day occasion in Europe. It seemed probable, too, that he had not thought fit to intrust an Englishman with his intentions on so important a point, and that he depended solely on a man who had been attached to him all his life, and whose fidelity he had so long experienced. But hitherto it does not appear that these conjectures were well founded, and all the conversations of the Earl of Portland do not give the slightest indication that he has any orders from the king, his master, to speak of the opening to the Spanish succession.

It may however cause such a change in the general affairs, that one of the first and principal cares of Count Tallard must be to discover, if it is possible for him to do so, what may be the intentions of the king of England on this subject, his engagements, and the means which he has of supporting them.

The frequent illnesses of the king of Spain, and the weakness of his constitution, have long accustomed his subjects to look upon his death as an event that cannot be far distant.*

The Emperor and the elector of Bavaria were considered, during the war, as the only pretenders who could dispute the succession, if this prince should die before the peace. It was not supposed that the King, who was engaged in resisting the

* There will be found in the Appendix an extract of the Memoirs of Torcy, in which he states more at length than he was able to do in these instructions, the views and the position of the different pretenders to the Crown of Spain.

efforts of all Europe, could send to Spain a force sufficiently considerable to maintain the just rights of the Dauphin. On this ground, the Emperor and the Elector employed different ways to form each for himself a considerable party at Madrid. The Emperor having obliged the late electress of Bavaria, his daughter, to renounce at the time of her marriage the rights which she might have to the Spanish succession, pretends to exclude the electoral prince of Bavaria by virtue of this renunciation of the electress's mother; and, as the will of Philip IV. calls the children of the Emperor to the succession in Spain, in default of those of the Infanta Margaret, mother of the electress of Bavaria, it is on this will that the Emperor founds the applications which he has made to his Catholic Majesty to invite the archduke Charles (his second son) to Madrid, and to have him educated there as heir to the crown.

The elector of Bavaria pretends, on the contrary, that the renunciation of the Archduchess cannot prejudice the electoral prince, her son, and that the promise of the Emperor to cede to him the sovereignty of the Netherlands, in return for this renunciation, is not a title which can be confirmed.

The queen mother of Spain during her life counterbalanced the pretensions of the Emperor. The interests of the electoral prince of Bavaria, her grandson, were more dear to her than those of the Archduke, her nephew, and it seemed, at that time, that the king of Spain was inclined in favour of the electoral prince.

But the death of the queen mother of Spain having removed the only obstacle which opposed the will of the Queen, her daughter-in-law, the power of this princess, who was sister to the Empress, gained such an ascendancy that she induced the king, her husband, to consent to things to which he had the greatest aversion. The Emperor, strengthened by such a support, no longer conceals his proceedings. Count Harrach has been sent to Madrid; and all Europe knows that it was to ask his Catholic Majesty to send for the Archduke, and to consider him as his heir; but the mere presence of the Archduke was not sufficient, troops were necessary to support him. The continuance of the war, and the weakness of the Spaniards in Catalonia, were a pretext to apply to the Emperor for succour, and his Catholic Majesty had already written to him for a corps of 10,000 or 12,000 men; the people of Spain were disposed to receive them and to support them; hopes were entertained that the English and Dutch would furnish vessels to convey them, when all these projects were overturned by the conclusion of peace.

These succours being now useless to Spain, the Queen, and the most confidential ministers of his Catholic Majesty, said that the finances were too much exhausted to provide for the subsistence of these troops; all that could be done, would be to receive them if the Emperor would consent to provide for their maintenance; but it is no less difficult for the Emperor to incur such an expense.

The sum which he requires to carry on the war with the Turks does not permit him to divert to other uses funds which are not sufficient to maintain his fortresses and his army in Hungary; thus far, therefore, the consent of the king of Spain has not advanced the execution of the designs of the Emperor. Besides this, a new difficulty has arisen since the peace, with respect to the conveyance of German troops to Spain. The king of England, and the States General, had engaged by a secret article of the treaty concluded with the Emperor in 1689*, to furnish him with all the aid

* "Postquam ex parte Galliæ in variis locis et aulis palam divulgatum est, quod non obstante renunciatione solemnissimâ successionem in monarchiam Hispanicam, casu quo Rex Catholicus sine prole legitimâ è vivis discederet, pro Delphino indesinenter pretendat vi et armis asserendam, nec obscure etiam collimet, ut prædictus Delphinus in Regem Romanorum evehatur: Domini Status Generales fœderati Belgii mature considerantes quantam status publici collisionem et quantum prejudicium publicæ rei et tranquillitati tàm una quam altera pretensio afferre possit, promittunt hisce separatis articulis non minus ac si fœderi principali verbo tenus inserti essent, valituris; primo casu quo modernus Hispaniarum Rex è vita decederet, non relictis legitimis descendentibus (quem casum Deus clementer avertere velit!) se Cæsaream majestatem ejusve hæredes ad successionem ejusdem domus legitime competentem in monarchiam Hispanicam, et ejus regna, provincias, ditiones, et jura earumdem adipiscendam et asserendam, quin etiam possessionem contra Gallos ejusque adhærentes qui se huic successioni directe vel indirecte opponere vellent, omnibus viribus adjuturos et in contrarium attentantium vim vi repulsuros.

"Invitabitur ad horum etiam articulorum societatem corona Angliæ. Actum Viennæ, 12 May, 1689.

"E. A. Henricus Comes de Stratman.

"J. Hop."

necessary to support his pretensions on the death of the king of Spain. On the basis of this treaty the ministers of the Emperor urged the king of England, before his departure from the Netherlands, to furnish vessels, for the conveyance of German troops to Spain. But that prince replied, that the time to execute the treaty was not yet come, that it was not advisable to excite France to resume her arms; that such a step, if taken unseasonably, would infallibly kindle a new war; that, however, he was still resolved to execute the treaty when the time should arrive.

The elector of Bavaria had formed the same project to go to Spain, with the prince, his son, and to take troops to that country under the pretext of the defence of Catalonia. This advice had been given from Madrid, by those whom he reckons among his friends; they had urged him not to lose any time in following it, when it was in contemplation to send the Archduke to Spain with troops. This was towards the commencement of the last campaign, and the elector of Bavaria, profiting by this advice, immediately made an application to the king of England for ships. They were promised; and, relying on this hope, orders were already given to send troops from Bavaria, when the king of England withdrew his promise, reducing it to a bare assurance of furnishing ships if the electoral prince was appointed heir by the testament of his Catholic Majesty, and recognised as such by the estates of the kingdom.

It is affirmed, that, since the peace, the king of

England and the States General have proposed to the elector of Bavaria that they would engage by a new treaty to secure to him the government of the Netherlands, during the life of his Catholic Majesty, and its sovereignty after the death of that prince, provided the Elector would promise at the same time to confirm the renunciation of the deceased Electress, and not to interfere with the pretensions of the Emperor.

It does not appear that this proposal has hitherto had any result. Hence it may be inferred, that the king of England and the States General are persuaded that it is equally their interest to prevent the King from becoming master of the Netherlands; that they believe, that nothing would suit them better than to cause that country to pass into the hands of a prince who would always have need of their assistance; that this necessity will keep the elector of Bavaria in a state of perpetual dependance on them; that it would not be the same with the Emperor; that if that prince should unite all the dominions of the Spanish monarchy with those which he already possesses, he would perhaps be inclined to revive the rights of sovereignty, which the House of Austria has lost over the United Provinces.

The same considerations must induce them exclusively to favour the pretensions of the elector of Bavaria, and strongly to oppose the increase of the power of Austria. But it is at present out of the question to intimate to the king of England what he ought to do on this subject; and the sole

object of Count Tallard, at the commencement of his embassy, should be to discover whether that prince really intends to supply the Emperor with ships in case he should ask for them to convey the Archduke and troops to Spain; if he does not fear to draw upon himself the resentment of the King, by a proceeding so prejudicial to the rights of MONSEIGNEUR (the Dauphin); if the English nation approves of such a connection with the Emperor, to unite so many states in the person of that prince; if the king of England does not himself fear to give the princes of Germany, and especially the protestant princes, such a just subject of complaint as to endeavour to contribute to the increase of a power so dangerous to themselves, as that of the Emperor will always be. Lastly, it will be necessary that Count Tallard should discover, as far as lies in his power, if the king of England, in favouring the designs of the Emperor, does not likewise entertain some notion of profiting by the disputes, to which he foresees the question of the Spanish succession will give rise, to obtain possession, either by force or by secret treaties with the Emperor, of the Spanish possessions in the Indies; and what assistance the nation consents to give him to carry these projects into execution.

The affair of the Spanish succession is not the only, though it is the principal, question which is connected with the preservation of peace. We hear on all sides of the formation of new leagues; sometimes it is said to be between the princes who

were allied during the late war, at other times it is pretended that it is to be a league between the Protestant princes; that the king of England is to be at the head of it, and that the object of this league would be the maintenance of the Protestant religion.

These leagues could not fail to be very dangerous to the public tranquillity, and it is certain that they would be absolutely useless for the purposes they are intended to accomplish. The King desires to preserve peace, and does not intend to disturb the Protestant princes on the subject of religion. His Majesty has also manifested that he desired peace, when he ceded so many important places for the sole purpose of securing the repose of Christendom. He might have continued the war with advantage, and he would not have abandoned the means which he possessed of carrying it on with success against his enemies if he had had any intention of recommencing it. There is no stronger guarantee of what his Majesty has promised, than the very terms of the treaties. The leagues which might be formed would only produce a distrust wholly at variance with the tranquillity which Europe should henceforth enjoy.

With respect to religion, the King has done in his kingdom what piety suggested for the conversion of his subjects. He has procured for the Catholic religion all the advantages which depended on him in those places which had been subject to him, and which he surrendered at the peace; but the care, which he thinks himself obliged to

take within his own dominions, goes no farther, and he has never had any design of giving the least uneasiness to the Protestant princes of the Empire, the greater part of whom he considers, on the contrary, as the ancient allies of his crown.

Such are the principal affairs which Count Tallard will at present have to deal with in England. The following is the line of conduct which he will have to observe.

It has always been the part of an able ambassador in England, to keep on good terms with the nation, as well as with the king of England and his ministers.

It would be more dangerous than ever to deviate from this line under present circumstances. Those who have the greatest share in the confidence of that prince are foreigners, and consequently exposed to the hatred of the English. The Parliament has already made some attempts to attack them, and they will probably be repeated with still more violence. Nobody can tell what will be the effect of them in a parliament which may perhaps be less subject to the will of the king of England, than preceding parliaments have been. Count Tallard, therefore, must conduct himself towards them in such a manner as not to alienate from him the English noblemen who have no share in public affairs. They have often not the less influence on that account; and when they are on bad terms with the Court, they make themselves feared by joining the popular party.

He must, however, avoid with extreme care the appearance of having any connection with malcontents and suspected persons. It is his Majesty's desire that his ambassador shall not be justly reproached with having any intercourse with those who are at present known in London by the name of Jacobites; and if any of them should go from St. Germains to London, he will not permit Count Tallard to receive them into his house.

It would be alienating both the king of England and the nation; and, far from being advantageous, it would give occasion to all kinds of reports which persons might choose to spread to alarm the English, and make them believe that their safety is at stake unless they are in arms.

It appears, that the representations of the Earl of Portland were principally made in this view; but, as we do not see that Parliament has changed its resolution respecting the reduction of the army, there is no reason to believe that the nation will not be so easily alarmed as the king of England might wish. We may even go further and conclude that that which appears to the prince essential to his safety, and chiefly engages his attention, is very indifferent to the nation.

It is very necessary to persuade the English that the King sincerely desires to maintain the peace; to let them know that when his Majesty gave aid to King James to reinstate him on his throne, he did not think of doing so, except in concert with the nation; that his Majesty has never made any secret treaties, contrary to the liberty

and the religion of England. Count Tallard will express himself in this manner, not only when opportunities shall naturally present themselves, but he may likewise cause such language to be spread in Parliament, and in the different parts of town to which the members resort, by persons he may think proper to employ for that purpose.*

If he can gain any persons in the House of Commons, they will inform him correctly of the state of the nation before the close of the parliament which is now assembled.

The accounts of the income and expenditure, of the state of commerce, of the army and navy, of the revenues of the Crown, and, in general, all that relates to the finances, are laid before Parliament

* In the original copy of these instructions there appeared a paragraph, which was suppressed on consideration. We think it of use to retain it in a note, inasmuch as it expresses with great *naïveté* the real sentiments of Louis XIV.; and it is, doubtless, this excess of *naïveté* that has led to its suppression: —

"Il ne sera pas même inutile que ces mêmes gens fassent connaître que l'intérêt du Roi s'accordera toujours avec celui de la nation anglaise en ce qu'il ne conviendra jamais à S. M. qu'un roi d'Angleterre soit trop absolu; que l'unique moyen de l'empêcher de le devenir est de conserver la paix et que le pouvoir arbitraire ne sera point à craindre tant que les rois d'Angleterre n'auront point en main les forces nécessaires pour se l'attribuer; que par conséquent la guerre est d'autant plus à éviter pour la nation anglaise que, si elle se renouvelait, le parlement ne serait plus le maître de conserver les lois et les libertés publiques."

to be examined by committees. These documents are not kept secret: we may, therefore, judge to a certainty by their contents, of the real state of England; and it is easy to see by the receipt and expenditure of preceding years what the new funds might produce. As his Majesty is persuaded that Count Tallard will soon find persons who will inform him of all these details, the only thing that he has to observe to him, is to avoid bringing under suspicion those who shall give him this information.

The end of the present parliament will throw new light on the measures which they are going to take with the king of England. It is certain that there appears much less submission to that prince, than he has found since he has been on the throne; that the reduction of the army, of the navy, and of the subsidies, disables him from undertaking any thing in future without the consent of the nation; and, perhaps, the difficulties will be found still greater in future parliaments, than in that which is now sitting.

The Dutchmen, to whom the king of England gives his principal confidence, do not seem to know the nation well enough, and are not sufficiently beloved by it, to be of any assistance to the king, their master, in intractable parliaments. In preceding parliaments, when obstacles arose to the demands of this prince, they were soon removed by the favours or employments bestowed on some of the members, or by the fear with which others were

inspired by accusations of a correspondence with France. When these means are exhausted, it will be very difficult for foreigners who have drawn on themselves the envy of the nation, to find other expedients to keep it in the same state of submission. Thus the king of England will find himself much more embarrassed than he has hitherto been; and it may be said with great truth, that it is his interest to seek for support in the friendship of the King. Count Tallard will soon see whether that prince is disposed to enter into closer connection with his Majesty; and, as his Majesty is convinced that this good understanding is very necessary for the preservation of peace, Count Tallard will adapt his language to his Majesty's sentiments on this subject.

But at the same time that he shows that his Majesty is sincerely desirous to maintain the treaties, the King's dignity and interest, especially in England, require, that it should be made thoroughly known that his Majesty has consented to the peace solely with a view to the general good of Christendom; that he was in no want of means to continue the war; and that the wealth of his kingdom, and the zeal of his subjects, would always afford him the same resources if the tranquillity which Europe now enjoys should be unfortunately disturbed. Lastly, it is necessary that the firm and moderate language of Count Tallard should prove, at the same time, that his Majesty constantly desires the preservation of peace, but that he should not be embarrassed if he were again obliged to take

up arms to repel the efforts of those who might attack him.

The piety of the King has always led him to give instructions to his ambassadors, to use their good offices in favour of the English Catholics. He repeats his instructions to Count Tallard, to do for them every thing that may depend upon him, but with all due prudence; and it is certain that more delicacy than ever is now required. The urgent applications made by an ambassador of France in favour of the English Catholics, would certainly elicit others from the king of England in favour of French refugees in England; and his Majesty will on no account whatever receive such applications; though the two cases are not on the same footing, since the so-called reformed religion is at present prohibited in France, and the Catholics, on the contrary, have enjoyed under all the preceding reigns the free exercise of their religion in England, on certain conditions. This discussion is not to be entered into; his Majesty therefore will have Count Tallard examine what he may be able to do in favour of the Catholics, so that no inference may be drawn from it with respect to the French refugees.

But he is not to consult the English friars in order to obtain information. Besides that several of them are odious to the nation, there are many who it is affirmed are entirely devoted to the king of England, now on the throne, and all in general appeared under the preceding reign to consult their own interests much more than those of religion.

There are two bishops whose merit and virtue

seem to be highly esteemed. Their names are Leyburn and Giffard*: it is said that they are not

* "John Leyburn," says Dodd, "born 1620, was consecrated bishop at Rome, 1685, with the title of 'Episcopus Adrumetenus,' and by commission, 'Vicarius Apostolicus' in England. Being arrived there, he had an apartment prepared for him in St. James's Palace, with an allowance of 1000*l.* per annum: there had been no Catholic bishop in England since the year 1629. Upon the Revolution, Bishop Leyburn was at first committed prisoner to the Tower, but afterwards released, upon the general character of his peaceful and inoffensive behaviour. He was afterwards frequently alarmed, and summoned when any disturbance happened in relation to the government; but the ministry, being fully satisfied with his conduct, took no farther notice of him; only desired to know his place of abode. In this manner he spent the remainder of his days, dying about the year 1703."

"Bonaventure Giffard, was born in Wolverhampton. He was taken notice of when King James II. ascended the throne, who, having experienced in himself some effects of his zeal, by the private admonitions he had given his Majesty for the good of his soul, made choice of him to be one of his chaplains and preacher. And afterwards, when it was thought proper to establish an ecclesiastical hierarchy in England, he was promoted to the episcopal dignity, and consecrated, April 22. 1687, with the title of *Episcopus Madaurensis.* When the grand contest happened between the King and the seniors of Magdalen College, Bishop Giffard was appointed president of the house and invested by his proxy, March 31. 1688; but ousted again, October 25. the same year, by an order of the King and counsel. The Revolution happened soon after; Bishop Giffard concealed himself for a while, but at last was seized and committed prisoner to Newgate, where he remained about a twelvemonth, till, being discharged, he lived privately in London, under the connivance of the government, who gave him very little disturbance, being fully satisfied with the inoffensiveness of his behaviour. He died the 12th of March, 1734, aged 89."—*Dodd's Church History of England,* vol. iii. p. 446.

suspected by the present government, and that they have always conducted themselves with much prudence. Count Tallard will inform himself more precisely on this subject when he shall be in England, and will regulate the intercourse which he may have with them, according to what he shall learn of the sentiments of the king of England with respect to them. If they are not suspected by that prince, as is represented, he may see them openly.

The French, of the so-called reformed religion, who have withdrawn into foreign countries, have manifested so much passion, and have so far forgotten the duties of their birth, that it does not become the ambassador of his Majesty to receive into his house those who have so distinguished themselves by their bad conduct. Nor could any advantage to his Majesty's service result from it; the English barely tolerate them; they have no hope except from the king of England, to whom they are accordingly entirely devoted. Count Tallard, therefore, could never receive any useful information from them, and they would make a boast of whatever they might learn in his house.

With respect to those who have conducted themselves well since they have had the misfortune to quit his kingdom, his Majesty leaves Count Tallard at liberty to behave towards them as he shall judge best suited to the service of the King.

It remains only to point out to Count Tallard what his Majesty desires him to say from him to the king of England. In a private audience, for

which he will apply immediately on his arrival, he will confirm to him all the assurances which he has already received in Holland from the ambassadors of the King, at the conferences for the negotiation of peace, of the sincere desire of his Majesty to maintain a perfectly good understanding with him; that he is persuaded that this union is necessary for the preservation of the general tranquillity; that he has seen, with regret, that past conjunctures have hitherto hindered him from giving to that prince effective marks of the esteem which he had always felt for him; that he will not remember in future the contrary engagements which have separated him from the interests of his Majesty, except to judge of the punctuality of his word by the fidelity which he manifested towards his allies; that he has no doubt that the union formed by the peace between him and that prince will be as solid as his preceding connections have been; that his Majesty will contribute on his part to strengthen it in every thing that may depend upon him; that he is as much inclined to do this by the particular esteem which he has for the personal merits of that prince, as by the desire which he entertains to preserve the peace which Europe now enjoys; and he sees with pleasure, that the general tranquillity is so connected with this good understanding, that, as long as it shall last, nothing will be able to give rise to fresh troubles.

Count Tallard will add, that on his part he will always endeavour to show by his conduct the real sentiments of the King, for the king of Eng-

land; that his Majesty has given him the most positive orders on this point, and that he knows he can do nothing more agreeable to his Majesty than conform to the orders which have been given him on this subject.

MEMORANDUM.*

As according to all appearance the first conferences of the Earl of Portland with the ministers of the King, who will be appointed to hear him, will be limited to the same assurances which he will have given his Majesty of the sincerity of the intentions of the king, his master, not only to maintain a durable peace, but also to acquire the friendship of his Majesty, which he has always and on all occasions desired above all things, the King's ministers cannot reply in too courteous a manner to expressions of this kind. They will neglect nothing to give him to understand how sincere are the esteem and affection of his Majesty for the king, his master; that the past differences and wars should

* This note, the original of which is in the hand-writing of M. de Torcy, assistant secretary of state for foreign affairs, was written at the moment of Lord Portland's arrival in Paris, and was, doubtless, submitted to the deliberations of the cabinet. It completes the sentiments of Louis XIV. as we have just seen them developed in the instructions of Count Tallard, and paves the way for the proposals which are about to be made to the Earl of Portland on the subject of the Spanish succession.

be buried in eternal oblivion, or, that if they must be recalled to memory, it can only be to remind us of the esteem which the king of England acquired in them; that the King has nothing more at heart than to preserve by peace the tranquillity of Europe; that he is persuaded, by the assurances which the king of England has caused to be given him, that he entertains the same sentiments, and therefore they will easily act in concord to consolidate the public tranquillity. These general observations, which must be the basis of their first conversation, must be accompanied by the most courteous manners, testimonies of sincerity and good faith, and marks of confidence.

If Lord Portland is charged with any thing particular, he will not disclose it till the sequel. As it is not to be doubted that the king, his master, embraces all the interest of Europe; that he maintains some connection with his allies to secure the peace; and that, in order to render himself more necessary, he represents, perhaps, to them what they have to fear from the superior power of France, he has unquestionably considered for himself, and has concerted measures with them in contemplation of the events which may arise on the death of the king of Spain, or on the declaration which that prince may make of his successor.

Such events appear to be the only ones likely to occasion changes in the general posture of affairs. Perhaps Lord Portland may be the first to open himself on the subject; and, without entering into any similar explanations, those with whom he

confers may speak in merely general terms of the sincere intentions of his Majesty to maintain the peace, assuring him that he will use all his efforts at once to consolidate it, and to prevent every accident which may be calculated to disturb it. By this means they may give the Earl of Portland an opportunity of speaking of the sentiments of the king, his master, upon this subject.

Perhaps more than one conference may pass in these general expressions, the ambassador going no further than to enlarge upon the sincerity of his master's intentions for the preservation of peace, and his desire of maintaining an alliance and sincere friendship with the King. If he should be thus reserved, would not the King rather than suffer him to depart without having touched on a point so important for the general constitution of Europe, think proper that the first overture should be made to him by his ministers? And, in this case, would it not be more natural to do so with an air of sincerity and frankness?

He might be told, that his Majesty, having already sufficiently assured him of the sincerity of his esteem and affection for the king of England, cannot give him a greater proof of it than by confidentially communicating with him on the most important event which can happen in Europe; that he is sensible of the feeble health of the king of Spain; that he is informed of all the measures which have been taken at Vienna, to secure the succession to that crown; that he knows what are the rights of MONSEIGNEUR (the Dauphin), what are those of

the electoral prince of Bavaria, after the sons of MONSEIGNEUR; that he need not point out to him how formidable would be the power of the House of Austria, by the union of so many states in the old and in the new world; that he would consider as a mark of the friendship of which the king of England has assured him, any communication which he would make through him of his sentiments on so important an affair; that his Majesty will answer with the same confidence, and in the same spirit of equity and affection for the good of Europe, which the king of England has a right to expect from him.

These general terms, which enter into no detail, appear to be sufficient for a first overture. His Lordship will reply to them, if he is already provided with instructions on this subject, but at all events he will undertake to give an account of them to the king, his master. It will be difficult for that prince not to go further into the matter when he shall have to reply. We may then come to the discussion of the events that may follow the death of the king of Spain, and disapprove of the measures which the Emperor seems disposed to take at the death of the king who is living, and still young; and whether the king of England respond in the manner that may be wished to the confidence of the King, or whether we find him prejudiced in favour of the Emperor, it might at least in this way be intimated to him, that the King might conceive just mistrust at the passage of the troops of the Emperor into Spain, and of the Archduke into the duchy of Milan, and the body of troops with which he would

be accompanied. It would be natural to remind him, on this latter point, of the treaty of peace of Savoy by which the Emperor engaged to withdraw his forces from Italy; added to which that this obligation did not relate only to a time of war; in time of peace, when they ceased to be necessary, they would give a fresh and too just cause of umbrage to the princes of Italy; that the King takes an interest in their liberty; and that it is for the good of all Europe that that country should not be subject to the Emperor.

Such considerations must be referred only to the necessity of preserving peace, and to make the king of England perceive that the conduct of the Emperor would be likely to disturb it, rather than to show him the necessity under which the King would be placed to oppose it.

The advantage that might be derived from this communication to Lord Portland, would be to make the king, his master, explain what his sentiments are in favour of the Emperor, or of the electoral prince of Bavaria; what he believes, or what he fears, respecting the designs of the King; and by this means to open a negotiation with him, calculated to lead to measures on matters which are of the highest importance to the tranquillity of Christendom.

THE EARL OF PORTLAND TO WILLIAM III.

Paris, March 15. 1698.

Yesterday M. de Pomponne and M. de Torcy * called upon me, and informed me that they did so

* " M. de Croissy, ministre et secrétaire d'état des affaires étrangères et frère de feu M. Colbert, avait été long-temps président à mortier, et avait été ambassadeur à la paix d'Aix-la-Chapelle et en Angleterre. Enfin il eut la place de M. de Pomponne à sa disgrâce, et la survivance de cette place pour M. de Torcy, son fils. M. de Pomponne, qui avait également porté sa faveur et sa disgrâce, et à qui on n'avait pu ôter l'estime du Roi, avait été mandé le jour même de la mort de M. de Louvois, et rentra dans le conseil en qualité de ministre d'état sans charge, et eut la piété et la modestie de voir M. de Croissy sans rancune et sans éloignement. Le Roi, qui s'était rattaché à M. de Pomponne, avait imaginé le mariage de sa fille avec Torcy pour réunir ces deux familles et pour donner un bon maître à ce jeune survivancier des affaires étrangères, dans la décadence de santé où Croissy perdu de goutte était tombé, et qui était encore plus nécessaire si Croissy venait à manquer. Dès qu'il fut mort, (28 Juillet, 1696,) le Roi s'en expliqua à Pomponne et à Torcy. Il régla que ce mariage se ferait sans delai, que Torcy conserverait la charge de son père, qu'il ne serait point encore ministre, mais que, sous la direction et l'inspection de Pomponne, il ferait toutes les dépêches, que Pomponne les rapporterait au conseil et dirait après à Torcy les réponses qui y auraient été résolues pour les dresser en conséquence, que les ambassadeurs iraient désormais chez Pomponne qui leur donnerait audience en présence de Torcy, qu' enfin le beau-père et le gendre partageraient à Versailles le logement de la charge de secrétaire d'état des affaires étrangères pour être ensemble et travailler en commun plus facilement."—*Mémoires de Saint-Simon.*

" 29 Juillet, 1696.—Le Roi a réglé que M. de Pomponne donnera audience aux ministres étrangers, M. de Torcy pré-

by command of his Most Christain Majesty, to tell me that he desired my services in an affair of the utmost importance and secrecy; at the same time assuring me of his entire confidence. After I had replied, as was fitting, M. de Pomponne said, that as the sentiments of the king, his master, in regard to the maintenance of the peace, were sincere, and as he was fully persuaded that those of your Majesty were the same, it was necessary to weigh every thing that might cause an interruption, in order to concert precautionary measures; that the death of the king of Spain, which might take place suddenly, and which would bring a recurrence of the same troubles from which we had just escaped, was of this nature; that his Most Christian Majesty wished to enter into engagements with your Majesty which might prevent so great calamities; that if Spain fell into the hands of the Emperor, he would be able to make him-

sent. Ce sera M. de Torcy qui fera les dépêches, et M. de Pomponne rapportera au conseil toutes les affaires étrangères, et mettra par apostille ce qu'on aura résolu de répondre aux dépêches des ministres du roi dans les pays étrangers." — *Dangeau.*

" 10 Septembre, 1699.—Voici la séance du conseil des dépêches qui se tient le samedi: le Roi est au bout de la table, MONSEIGNEUR à un des côtés, M. de Beauvillier et M. de Pomponne, M. le chancelier du côté de Monseigneur; M. de Torcy est au bout de la table vis-à-vis du Roi, qui lit les dépêches des ambassadeurs, et en même temps les réponses qui ont été résolues au conseil précédent, et qu'il fait lui seul." — *Dangeau.*

Torcy was born September 14. 1665. At the death of M. de Pomponne, in 1700, he remained sole minister of foreign affairs till the death of Louis XIV.

self master of all Italy, and be so absolute in the Empire, that we should have every reason to fear his preponderating power; that his Most Christian Majesty, therefore, desired to concert measures with your Majesty respecting the said succession, and requested to know whether you were inclined to it, and what conditions and securities you would require.

I replied to him, that I was surprised at the proposal which he made me; that, although I could not fail to consider the death of the king of Spain as an event which would inevitably plunge us again into war, yet it must be regarded as an unavoidable evil, and we could only hope that it would not take place soon; that I was aware, that the interests of England and Holland were concerned to oppose an accommodation, both with respect to the naval force and to commerce all over the world; that I did not see how it was possible for your Majesty to give any more than a general answer to such a proposal, unless I were informed of the views of his Most Christian Majesty in regard to the particulars which he meant to propose. He answered, that he could not enter into particulars till your sentiments in general were known, and that even then, it would be necessary to ascertain from you what you should think suitable to the interests and safety of the two nations.

I said, I was sure that if I wrote to your Majesty in the general terms in which he spoke, I could not expect any other answer than that you were willing to listen to what should be proposed; and, as I at

length saw that I could not elicit any more from him, I told him, in passing, my own sentiments and every thing that I thought might be opposed to our interests; but I avoid repeating the details that I may not unduly lengthen my letter.

He replied, that with respect to the Low Countries, it would be easily agreed upon in such a manner as your Majesty should desire; that as for Spain itself, sufficient guarantees should be given that it should never fall under the dominion of the same king as France; but, as for the Indies and the safety of the commerce of the Mediterranean, two points on which I laid great stress, he said nothing; he merely required that I should give your Majesty an account of what he had proposed and declared the sentiments of the king, his master, and begged to be informed, Sire, of yours.

I did not think proper to say any thing which might furnish them with the least clue as to what were the views of your Majesty, particularly as little or nothing was known respecting them. I shall therefore wait to know the pleasure of your Majesty on this subject, and the line of conduct you would have me to observe. If, however, I have an opportunity, I will again speak, in the way of conversation, to M. de Pomponne, and try to induce him to state his sentiments a little more fully.

I beg your Majesty to pardon the faults of my letter, which is not of a nature to be shown to any of my own people. I have scarcely time to read it over, much less to take a copy, because the Dauphin

has sent for me to go a hunting with him without delay, which I did not like to decline, or to put off to a later hour. I am just going to step into my carriage to go to Meudon. Count Tallard will set out to-day. I believe that they have purposely waited so long to speak to me on this subject, that they might be able to make use of him in the affair in case they are not satisfied with me, though the inflexibility which I have shown, in all the difficulties that have been thrown in my way, is approved by everybody at Court, and all the blame is laid upon the conductor of ambassadors, whom MONSIEUR calls ignorant and impertinent. They perhaps think that I shall not suffer myself to be drawn into matters, which the shortness of my stay convinces me will prevent my being able to further for the service of your Majesty and of the two nations.

ACCOUNT OF WHAT TOOK PLACE IN THE VISIT WHICH M. DE POMPONNE AND M. DE TORCY PAID TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND BY ORDER OF HIS MAJESTY THE 14TH OF MARCH, 1698.

The conference with Lord Portland lasted more than an hour and a half. We began by reminding him of all that had been said to him, since his residence here, of the sincere desire of the King to maintain a good understanding with the king of England, and to adopt in concert with that prince all the measures necessary to form a close alliance. We spoke to him of the necessity of this alliance

for the good of Europe, and for the preservation of peace, which has just been restored; of what he has said himself of the sentiments of the king, his master, and of the desire which he feels to unite himself closely with his Majesty. After those preliminary observations, we reminded him of the language of his Majesty to him, in the last private audience, and of his own replies. At length, we spoke more plainly, and observed to him, that in the present state of affairs in Europe, he would easily comprehend that the most important event that could happen, and one which was most calculated to disturb the general tranquillity, was the death of the king of Spain; that if God should remove that prince before just measures had been taken to prevent the troubles which his death would occasion, it would be very difficult for peace to be preserved; that his Majesty, convinced of the good intentions of the king of England, was disposed on so important an occasion, to give him marks of entire confidence, by concerting with that prince what should be done in such a conjuncture for the preservation of the public tranquillity.

We added, that the King was very happy to open himself to the Earl of Portland, rather than to any other person, not only on account of the confidence which the king, his master, placed in him, but also on account of the satisfaction which his Majesty feels at his conduct, and because he is persuaded that no person desires more to contribute to a close alliance between his Majesty and the king of England.

Lord Portland replied, that he had rightly judged that the conversation, which his Majesty had done him the honour to hold with him, could have reference only to the Spanish succession; that he thought it useless to repeat what he had several times said of the real desire of the king, his master, to maintain a perfect understanding with his Majesty; that what he had said on the subject was conformable to the instructions he had received, and to the truth. We observed to him, that the answer, which the King had made to him on the day of his public audience, had reference to the preceding conversation during the private audience, and he said that he was well aware of it.

Entering, then, into the subject of the Spanish succession, he said, that though in truth the feeble health of the king of Spain had for a long time past given occasion to consider what was to be done in case that prince should die, he had never precisely known what might be the sentiments of his master on this subject; that he had indeed heard him say, at the Hague, that this was the only event which could disturb the peace; that it was sufficiently apparent that his Majesty sincerely desired it from the terms which he offered, and that there was no doubt that he would maintain it when once it should be made, but that nobody could judge of the effect which the death of the king of Spain might produce; that princes should not be swayed by their private inclinations, but solely by the interests of the people subject to their direction or their government; that the Dutch are in the first

state with respect to the king of England, and the English in the second; that therefore the interests of these two nations must be the only object of that prince; that if he wished to do any thing contrary to the ancient maxims of the English, he would, perhaps, not be able to accomplish it; that jealousy of the power of France is as great as it ever was.

We told him, that the King by no means thought of increasing this jealousy; and, that as his Majesty was inclined to concert with the king of England what was to be done in case of the death of the king of Spain, this mark of his confidence in that prince clearly showed that his Majesty did not seek to give new causes of jealousy to the neighbouring princes and states; but that they ought to entertain a very legitimate and well-founded jealousy of the steps which the Emperor takes to secure to himself the succession to the crown of Spain, and of the negotiations which he carries on at Madrid, through Count Harrach, to get the Archduke invited; that if the states which compose that monarchy should be one day united with those which the Emperor possesses, Europe would see a revival of the same power which had been so formidable to it under the reign of Charles V.; that the king of England was too enlightened not to perceive this danger.

The Earl of Portland answered, that the English were moved by no other interest than that of their commerce and navigation; that they will consider that the Emperor has no ships; that in the present

feeble state of Spain, a considerable time must elapse before its naval power can be re-established; that, on the contrary, they see that France has a powerful navy, and that she might easily impede their trade with the Indies and the Mediterranean. He, however, constantly assured us that he spoke only from himself, and without any instructions from the king, his master, (and in fact there is reason to believe that he spoke the truth on this point); but that he was well enough acquainted with the disposition of the English, to know what they would think; that in treating with them regard must be had, not only to the present but to the future; that when the king of England makes any proposal to them which is not to their taste, they very well know how to refuse it; that they say, that they would willingly grant to a good king, with whom they are satisfied, whatever he asks, but that not knowing who will be his successor, they will do nothing which, under another king, may be prejudicial to the nation.

As we spoke in this conversation of the testament of Philip IV., of the mode of succession to the crown of Spain, the Earl of Portland inquired, as a man really ignorant of what the will of Philip IV. contained, respecting those who were called to the succession in default of the king of Spain now on the throne, and of his children, asking whether the Salic law was observed in Spain. We explained to him the contents of the will; that the children of the Emperor had no right to the crown; that the dominions of the Spanish monarchy had

several times passed into different houses by the marriages of the Infantas; that it was by this means that the whole monarchy had been united to the House of Austria; that a testament could not change the fundamental laws of a kingdom. He adduced what had been done by Henry VIII., king of England, who by several different testaments had changed the order of succession. We replied, that this same order had nevertheless been observed, that his son had first succeeded him, and then two daughters, according to the order of their birth; that Ferdinand V., king of Arragon, had done what he could to disturb this said order of succession in Castile; that on the death of Queen Isabella, his wife, he had done his utmost to remain king of Castile, the crown of which had belonged to that princess by right of succession; but that though he had reigned a long time, conjointly with his wife, the Castilians would never recognise him for their king, after the death of that princess; that that crown had devolved upon Queen Joanna, his daughter, and that on Charles V. succeeding to King Ferdinand, the Castilians had not permitted him to reign over them, except conjointly with the queen, his mother, though this princess was entirely out of her mind; that the queen's name was even always placed in public acts, before that of King Charles, her son; that this was a sure sign that the will of a king could not change the established order of the succession in Spain.

He said, that not being acquainted with the

views of the king, his master, on this subject, he begged to be informed whether his Majesty thought it good that he should write to him for his orders; that there was nothing more important than to provide for the death of the king of Spain, but that it appeared to him that he should be told something more in detail, respecting the intentions of his Majesty; that if he only made general proposals to the king of England, he would embarrass that prince, and not receive any decisive answer from him.

We answered, that his Majesty, not desiring any thing for himself, which might give umbrage to the rest of Europe, was willing to engage, in case of the death of the king of Spain, to dispose of this succession in such a manner that it could never be united to the crown of France; that it was the interest of the English and the Dutch, especially the latter, to preserve in the Netherlands a barrier between his Majesty and them, which should always separate them; and that his Majesty was likewise ready to promise not to encroach upon that barrier.

It is to be observed, that in all that was said on this subject, the Dukes of Anjou and of Berry were not mentioned to Lord Portland. He said, however, in answer to these proposals, that though the King did not unite the Spanish monarchy to his crown, Europe would be equally alarmed if it should see the whole succession of his Catholic Majesty in the hands of one of those princes; that their birth would always keep them united to France, and that they would give the law to all

the other states; that the King would become master of all the sea by his fleets. He slightly alluded to a cession of the West Indies to the English: no notice was taken of this. He went on to say, that if the places on the coast of Africa were ceded to England to secure to it the commerce of the Mediterranean, the said commerce might not be interrupted whenever it should please the King to do so; that the securities which might be taken on this point, upon the word of the King, were good for the present, but that they were not sufficient for the distant future, on which, however, it was necessary to satisfy the English; that they would not have the same fears with respect to the Emperor, first, because he would not fail to say, as the King says, that he does not think of uniting the Spanish monarchy to the Imperial crown, that of Spain would be destined for the Archduke, and would thus be a separate government; that the Emperor has no naval force; that it is well known what time it takes to form a navy; that the Spaniards are not calculated to do so; that the king of England knows better than any body the weakness of the Emperor, the exhaustion of his finances; and that, consequently, there is nothing to be feared from him.

We replied to all that Lord Portland said on this head. First, we did not fail to quote to him the example of the House of Burgundy, to show that the branches of the House of France are not always united, and that the ties of blood do not prevent princes from maintaining their own in-

terests; that though the Emperor has not a naval force at present, he would soon have a considerable one, when he should be master of all the ports depending on the Spanish monarchy. We spoke of the time which the King required to place his navy on its present footing; we showed Lord Portland that, though the finances of the Emperor were at present in an embarrassed state, the Spanish monarchy has such great resources, that it would soon again acquire new lustre, if it were well governed. We reminded him of the danger with which all Europe had been threatened about the middle of this century, by the union of the two branches of the House of Austria; that it had required miracles to preserve Germany from the slavery which threatened it, and to which it would soon be reduced if the Emperor united so many states; that he would make himself as sovereign in the Empire, as kings are in their own kingdom; that the English might be pardoned for regarding with the indifference, which Lord Portland attributes to them, what is passing out of their island, but that it never would be believed that their king had such narrow views; that he had given proofs of the contrary in all the actions of his life; and that it was not probable that he would change his sentiments on so important an occasion.

Lastly, after a long discussion of this matter, Lord Portland said, that by the testament of Philip IV., the electoral prince of Bavaria was the legitimate heir: why, then, added he, not take

him to reign in Spain, and by that choice put an end to the umbrage which all Europe feels at the too great power of the King, and the apprehension which France manifests of that of the Emperor?

We answered, that we had shown him the nullity of the testament of Philip IV.; but as he said that he only made this proposal as his own suggestion, the conference terminated in an agreement on both sides, that he should despatch a courier to the king of England to give him an account of what had passed.

In conclusion he said, that having to treat of affairs of such importance, it would have been desirable that all those which may cause any alteration should have been terminated in the manner which had been desired. He explained himself by saying, that his intention was not to speak any more of the removal of King James; that he saw the repugnance of his Majesty, who thought that his honour was concerned, and, that the king, his master, was very far from asking any thing that could hurt his feelings; but that he did not understand how, while desiring to live on amicable terms with him, things could be refused him which kings always grant; that there were actually at St. Germains Englishmen who, he pretends, had attempted the life of the king of England—he read their names, written in a paper; that he was informed of the language which they held every day—he repeated it; that he required they should be delivered to him for the

security of the king, his master; that if they are not known, as he is persuaded they are, his Majesty may be pleased to order that the proofs shall be received which he shall furnish against them.

We answered in the same manner as we had already done on the same subject; and added, that the affair in question was so important, so well calculated to establish an entire confidence, that in comparison with this subject all others must be considered as trifles; and that the union which will be formed between his Majesty and the king of England, will leave that prince no doubt of the constant friendship of the King and of the certain reliance that may be placed on it.

WILLIAM III. TO PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Windsor, March 8—18. 1698.

I am very glad that Heekerem has renewed the alliance between the Republic and Sweden; and I much approve of what you have said to Lillieroot on the subject of an ulterior engagement with Sweden, conformably to the secret article. Be so good as to continue to speak to him on the same footing. Do me also the pleasure to draw up something in my name, and to come to a final issue if possible. I am willing, if it is necessary, to authorise for this purpose, my ambassador Williamson, or else Robinson, at Stockholm, if the negotiations are to be conducted in that city.

'I send you herewith a letter I received yesterday

evening, by a courier, from the Earl of Portland; you will form your own opinion of the great importance of its contents. I have written to him, to keep this important negotiation on foot, and to try to bring the French to particulars, so that we may be the better able to judge what is possible to be done in this business. I beg you will write your sentiments on this important affair to the Earl of Portland, by a courier, that it may be done with secrecy, for you know of what consequence it is. You will recollect the discourse we had on this subject at Loo, and I believe also at the Hague. It will be necessary you should write rather at length to the Earl of Portland, and send me a copy of the letter for my information.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Windsor, March 9—19. 1698.

The day before yesterday I received your letters of the 13th, and was very glad to learn that everything went off so well at your *entrée* and first public audience; and that everybody praises you so much for having so well conducted yourself, for it is impossible to take more interest than I do in all that concerns you. You did very well in not making any concession in the ceremonial, to which the conductor of ambassadors improperly desired to induce you, and in which you acquitted yourself admirably. I have always commended your firm-

ness on every occasion, which I shall continue to do, provided you do not put it in practice against me.

I was greatly surprised yesterday evening, on receiving your letter (dated 15th in the morning), to learn the conversation which you had on the 14th with M. de Pomponne and M. de Torcy. This affair is so delicate, and of such great importance, that I am at a loss how to give you any more particular instructions than those which I gave you before your departure. I think that you answered M. de Pomponne most judiciously, and I do not see that you can do better than continue to speak in the same manner, to oblige them to come to particulars, without which it will be impossible to give any reply. I am of opinion, however, that when a favourable opportunity offers, you will be obliged to say, that having duly reported to me the proposal which had been made to you, I had signified to you that I so ardently desired the preservation of peace that I was not averse from listening to any proposal calculated to insure its continuance, even in the event of the demise of the king of Spain, which I concurred with them in fearing might interrupt peace, and again plunge all Europe in war; and that if there were any means to take measures and induce all parties to prevent so great an evil, they would find me entirely disposed to join them, as far as the interests of the two nations would permit.

From what I have just said to you, I think you will easily comprehend my intention, which is not

wholly to break off this important communication, but, on the contrary, to go more and more fully into it, in order that we may be able to see how far France would be willing to go, and thus be in a position to judge whether we could enter upon measures and engagements with them on so delicate an affair as the Spanish succession.

I confess that I have a heartfelt desire to see no more of war during the short period that I may yet have to live, that I will not omit any thing, which in honour and conscience I can do, to prevent it.

I thought I could not dispense with sending your letter to the Pensionary Heinsius to enable him to give you his opinion on an affair of such importance, one in which the whole republic is so deeply interested. I have begged him to write to you by express, in order to insure the safety of his letter, as it is absolutely necessary that all should be conducted with the greatest secrecy possible. For this reason I do not mean to communicate it to any person here, and I am very certain the Pensionary will do the same.

According to what you have written to me, it appears that you do not know what to say of the sincerity of the strong expressions which his Most Christian Majesty made use of respecting his desire to live on good terms with me. I think that this enigma is now clearly solved by the proposal which has been made to you, for, in the event of our being able to agree upon it, there can be no further doubt of the sincerity of his intentions, and every thing

will be done as I desire; but otherwise I fear that all will return to the old footing. However, I cannot conceal from you that I am very glad of the proposal which has been made to you, because whatever be the result, it cannot but be to my advantage.

THE EARL OF PORTLAND TO WILLIAM III.

Paris, March 19. 1698.

I was again at Versailles yesterday, and spoke to the ministers on the subject of which I informed you in my letter of the 15th. I stated that I did not expect any definite answer or proposal to those which they had made to me in such general terms, unless they entered into details, because it was an entirely new subject, which your Majesty has not taken into consideration, and which would surprise you; and that, at the utmost, you would, in all probability, desire me to listen to any proposals they may think fit to make affecting the commercial interests of the English and Dutch nations, of which they are both very jealous.

They replied that, as this is the only thing which can disturb the peace, which the Most Christian King, as well as your Majesty, desires to maintain inviolate, it was impossible that you should not have thought of it long since, and have turned over in your mind the means by which this evil might be obviated.

I believe that your Majesty might speak to Count Tallard of the affair upon which you intend to express your sentiments; but, if I may venture to offer an opinion, I should say it seems advisable to do so in rather strong terms, which should indicate your surprise and astonishment at the manner in which they treat your Majesty, while they throw dust in people's eyes, by their good treatment and favourable reception of me. With respect to the affair of King James, the flattering courtiers palliate it; but, with respect to the assassins, they all shrug their shoulders, for every body speaks of it, though I have not said a word, good or bad, to any one about it.

I am on the point of starting, as I am to go out hunting to-morrow with M. le Grand at Royaumont.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Kensington, March 14—24. 1698.

I have not received any letter from you since that of the 15th. For several days, there has been a high south-west wind, which has apparently hindered the passage of the letters from Calais. I returned here on Saturday night from Windsor, where I left the Duke of Shrewsbury, who had again spit so much blood in the night that he has been prevented from following me, as he had intended; and I fear he is worse to-day than ever. He has written a letter to Vernon, like a dying man, who is

determined to think no more of any business whatever.* Thus, I believe, we may already reckon him as dead to the world, which grieves me not a little and embarrasses me no less. Nobody here considers him dangerously ill, because, during the four days which he spent with me at Windsor, he seemed tolerably well, and went out hunting with me three times; nor was he taken ill till the night between Friday and Saturday, on which day he had resolved to come to London with me. I do not know what to think of it, but during those four days he ap-

* "I have the honour of your Grace's letter of this day, and am sorry you should have the trouble of writing so long a letter, in so much pain as I hear you were in. It is some comfort, however, to understand that the spitting of blood abates. I shall wait the King to-morrow, and let him know how you find yourself, and what assurances you desire of a total retreat; but I don't expect his Majesty should give me any answer as to that part. I imagine he will not be very ready to give your Grace that satisfaction, in hopes you will not insist upon it, when you grow better." *Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury. March* 13. (*o. s.*)

"Your Grace will not misinterpret it, if your friends oppose as long as they can your resulutions of retiring. They see a cloud impending over the state which they think you can only disperse. I laid before the King this morning what your Grace proposed of holding the Seals till the end of the session, provided you could be assured of being then discharged without passing from one office to another. His Majesty is willing to free you from the Seals sooner on condition you will accept the Chamberlain's Staff. I find the King thinks it of great use to his service, that it should not be thought you had left it, and your friends will think they have lost their best hold at Court, when they see you wind yourself out of it." *Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury. March* 16. (*o. s.*)

peared to me quite resolved to return to business, always paying me the compliment to say that it was only to please and serve me, for, that if he followed his own inclinations, he would retire altogether from the world. This will cause a grand fracas among all parties, who will fear more than ever the return of Lord Sunderland.

Yesterday I received letters from Holland of the 18th, in which the Pensionary tells me that he has had bad accounts of the health of the king of Spain*; that the physicians have declared, as a profound secret, that he is dropsical, and that his constitution is such, that the slightest accident may carry him off in a moment. You will judge what an embarrassment would arise if he were to die suddenly at this juncture; for we should not have time to put ourselves in a position to take the part which we might judge most expedient for our interests, nor to finish any negotiation if it were begun, and they are quite sure to have the first intelligence in France when this misfortune takes place. I have nothing to add upon this subject to what I wrote to you in my last.

It is said that Count Tallard has arrived at Calais, and that he is only waiting for a favourable wind to pass over.

* "The king is in a languishing condition; not in so imminent a danger as last week, but so weak and spent as to his principles of life, that all that I can hear is pretended amounts only to hopes of preserving him some few weeks, without any probability of recovery." Alex. Stanhope to his son, James Stanhope. Madrid, March 14. 1698.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, March 15—25. 1698.

I have received your letter of the 18th instant containing the disagreeable news of the king of Spain's indisposition. His death, if it takes place at present, could not occur at a more unlucky juncture. You will have learnt by my former letter the business in which the Earl of Portland is concerned, and I am impatient to learn your sentiments upon it. Should the death of the king of Spain take place soon, there is nothing to be expected from this negotiation, not to speak of the invincible difficulties that appear in the occurrence itself. I shudder when I think of the unprepared state of the allies to begin a war, and the present dilapidated state of Spain. It is certain that France is in a condition to take possession of that monarchy, before we shall be able to concert the slightest measures to oppose it. Such is the state of matters here, that I shall be able to contribute little towards the land forces, but I may do something more towards the marine; for the people here will, I believe, be inclined to second my endeavours, though we shall have great want of money. I am entirely of your opinion, that all possible measures should, without delay, be taken with the allies, to guard against an unforeseen accident, but it ought to be done with precaution, on account of France. I do not know but it would be proper at this time to assemble a kind of congress at the Hague again; and it might be better, in the event of negotiations

being necessary on this matter, to open them at Vienna, though here I see great difficulties on account of the distance: however, I think it will be the most proper place, and in that case, experienced ministers must be sent thither, as also to Madrid. It will also be necessary to rouse the allies on all sides, to the necessity of remaining armed. I wish I could do so too; but I see little appearance of it.

THE EARL OF PORTLAND TO WILLIAM III.

Paris, March 26. 1698.

I received on the 21st the letter which your Majesty did me the favour to write to me from Windsor on the 9—19. All the officers of the companies of the Guards and of the disbanded English and Irish regiments have come hither from their garrisons, and are either here or at St. Germains. The Duke of Berwick expresses himself every where with extreme resentment, because, when, conformably to your Majesty's instructions, I spoke respecting all those who had been engaged in the horrible plot to assassinate your Majesty, his name was among them; without considering that his name stands first in the Proclamation. All the officers who are his creatures follow his example; but if they continue to do so in an indecent manner towards him who has the honour to be invested with the character of your ambassador, I think I shall be obliged to take notice of it, and to complain to his Most Christian Majesty.

As the King did not return from Marly till Saturday, I could not speak to him till the following Tuesday, namely, yesterday, on the matters respecting which I wrote to your Majesty, and according to the orders which your express had brought me from Windsor. I did so on the same footing as I began, and in the terms which you had prescribed. The King, in reply, expressed much satisfaction at the assurances which I gave him on this point. He told me that it was impossible that your Majesty should have been surprised at his proposal; he was certain that you had thought of it, but he believed that you had not expected that he could make those overtures for the continuance of peace, and that your Majesty could not be thoroughly persuaded that he desired to preserve it; that he had, however, assured me of the contrary; that he did so again, and would express it on all occasions; that he had given up twenty of the strongest places in Europe in order to have this peace, and he thought that it was a pretty strong proof which might convince all the world of his intentions.

I answered by assurances of the sincere intentions of your Majesty, and of the joy and satisfaction which you had felt at the strong assurances which his Most Christian Majesty had given me, and on which you relied most implicitly; that I begged him to be pleased to enable me to do what he might wish, by paying some regard to the remonstrances which I had had the honour to make to him on certain points, and which would tend to

remove any doubts that might arise; that your Majesty, however, was wholly inclined to enter into all the measures that might be taken to secure the peace, and especially that which had just been concluded; that it was very true your Majesty had already thought of an event which, according to all appearance, might again plunge us in war, from which we had only just been delivered; but that you had not sufficiently anticipated what I had communicated to you, to have formed in your mind any plan as to the manner in which things could be adjusted conformably to the interests of the two nations who must enter into the negotiation, which presented great difficulties; that this was the reason why your Majesty had ordered me to make those assurances which I had just done, and that you now impatiently awaited some more definite proposals from his Majesty.

He said that he would take it into consideration as soon as possible, and would let you know his sentiments; that he was rejoiced to see your Majesty so disposed, and that, if you were of the same mind with himself, you might together give the law to the rest of the world.

As intelligence has been received that the king of Spain is better, it may cause some slackening in this affair, especially as the same letters announce some changes in the ministry, in opposition to the Queen and the almirante, such as the recall of the Count de Oropesa and of the Duke de Montalte *,

* Don J. Thomas Enriquez Cabrera, Duke of Rio-Secco,

and the change in the king's confessor, which has already taken place, and that which is to be made in the confessor to the queen: it is said that they intend to appoint a Jesuit.

Count Melgar, almirante of Castille. He had been governor of Milan. "L'amirante," says St. Simon, "devoué à la fortune, avec beaucoup d'esprit du monde et de talents, mais décrié sur tous les chapitres: c'était l'homme d'Espagne le plus attaché à la reine..... Il était grand de première classe, un des plus riches et des plus grands seigneurs, et le premier d'Espagne par la naissance, quoique bâtarde. C'était un composé fort extraordinaire: de l'esprit infiniment, de la politesse, l'air et les manières aimables, obligeant, insinuant, caressant, curieux, prenant toutes sortes de formes pour plaire: haut, libre, ambitieux à l'excès, et très dangereux dans son extrême paresse de corps, qui n'influait point sur l'esprit.... Déshonoré sur son courage, il ne l'était pas moins sur la probité: personne ne se fiait à lui et il en riait le premier, et avec cela fort haï du peuple: il ne se souciait ni de sa maison, ni d'avoir des enfants, mais avait le rage de gouverner et une haine mortelle contre tous les gens qui gouvernaient.

"Oropesa était de la maison de Bragance et l'âîné des trois branches de cette maison établies et restées en Espagne. Il était président des conseils de Castille et d'Italie. Il avait été envoyé en exil sur une furieuse sédition que le manque de pain et de vivres avait causée à Madrid.

"Don Fernand de Moncade, duc de Montalte, président des conseils d'Aragon et des Indes: homme d'esprit, de courage, de capacité, mais d'une foi suspecte, et qui en savait plus qu'aucun. Fort autrichien, profond dans ses vues et dans ses voies, que tous regardaient, mais sans se fier à lui."—*Mémoires de Saint Simon.*

LOUIS XIV. TO COUNT TALLARD.

Versailles, March 27. 1698.

You were aware before your departure, that I had thought fit to have the Earl of Portland spoken to, and to learn from him the sentiments of the king of England respecting the means of preserving peace in Europe, if the death of the king of Spain, which has been long apprehended in consequence of the bad state of health of that prince, should happen at a time when peace has been so recently restored.

You are informed of what I caused to be said to him, and, to enable you the better to recollect it, I have caused an account* to be added to this letter of what passed in that conversation, and of the answers of the Earl of Portland. The orders which he expected from the king, his master, have arrived, and as soon as he received them, he asked me for a private audience.

He told me that the king, his master, had been surprised at what had been said on my part to the Earl of Portland; that that prince, not having expected it, had not yet thought what answer could be made to such important proposals; that his intention was to contribute to the utmost of his power to the preservation of peace; that he certainly believes that I desire to preserve it, and that he sincerely wishes that I may have reason to be satisfied with the conduct which he shall follow,

* Vide *antè*.

with the same view of securing the general tranquillity; that he does not at present see that any thing except the opening of the Spanish succession is calculated to occasion a new war; that it is to be wished, that it may be prevented by taking timely measures for the preservation of peace, should God call his Catholic Majesty to Himself; that the king of England, not knowing my opinions nor what would suit me, cannot yet make any proposal to me; that he expected all such from me; and that, when I shall have explained myself to him, it would be more easy for him to say, on his part, what he should think the most advisable, and to concert with me the measures which should be taken.

The Earl of Portland afterwards added that I might depend on the secrecy which would be observed in this affair; that he flattered himself with being able to succeed in it better than any other minister, because he was more perfectly acquainted with the sentiments of the king, his master. As it did not suit me to enter with him into any detail, I thought it was sufficient to let him know that the prospect of the public tranquillity alone had obliged me to make peace when it was signed; that I was still in a condition to continue the war for a long time; and that the number of important places which I had ceded was a convincing proof of my intention of preserving it. I afterwards told him, that, knowing the confidence which the king, his master, reposes in him, I had not doubted, when that prince chose him for his ambassador, that he con-

sidered him as more calculated than any other to contribute to the renewal of a perfectly good understanding. I added that I was very well satisfied with his conduct; and, lastly, I referred to what I should let him know of my sentiments upon the business he had just proposed to me.

My intention is to let him be told in a few days that I consider it to be the general interest of Europe to prevent the union of the Spanish monarchy to my crown; that there is equal reason to fear lest the Emperor should become master of that monarchy; and that, besides this general interest, the special interest of England and Holland, which the king of England seems to have most at heart, is to preserve the Netherlands independent of any crown, and under the dominion of a separate prince; that on this foundation I am willing to assure him that the Spanish monarchy shall never be united to my crown; that I am ready to take measures to preserve the sovereignty of the Netherlands for the elector of Bavaria; that my son will cede to the electoral prince all the rights that he may have to those provinces; that, with respect to the remainder of the monarchy, it would not be just to deprive the lawful heirs of the rights which they have acquired, when means may be found to remove the umbrage that Europe might entertain at the union of the crowns of France and Spain: that the majority of the Spaniards know that, according to their laws and customs, confirmed by several examples, the succession should belong to my son, should God call his Catholic Majesty to

Himself; that, entirely to remove the uneasiness which he would cause by maintaining the justice of his rights, he is willing to transfer them to the youngest of the princes, his sons (the Duke of Berry); that I would place him alone in the hands of the Spaniards, to be trained according to their maxims, and without having any of my subjects about him; that this education would soon inspire him with the only sentiments suitable to a king of Spain; that the sentiments of his birth would never hinder him from watching over the preservation of the dominions belonging to the Spanish crown; that being educated in that country he would soon know no other interests than those of that monarchy; lastly, that he would be no more a stranger to the Spaniards than the second son of the Emperor, who has no right; whereas that of my grandchildren is certain when my son thinks fit to cede his to him who shall be most agreeable to the Spaniards.

After this overture we should see whether the Earl of Portland will make any proposal on the part of the king, his master; and as I am in a condition to back all that I shall cause to be sent to him, it will be for the king of England to state what he shall think the most advisable in such a juncture.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Windsor, March 19–29. 1698.

I did not receive your letters of the 19th of this month till yesterday; the violent contrary wind hindered them from crossing the Channel sooner. I hope that you have duly received my preceding letters, which will have informed you of my sentiments on the important negotiation which you have in hand. The more I reflect upon it, the more I wish that expedients could be found to prevent a war, which appears almost inevitable, especially if the king of Spain continues ill, as seems but too probable.

We are at present so very far from being in a condition to make an effort, while France is prepared for every event, that you can fancy how much uneasiness this gives me whenever I think of it, especially if I contemplate the great difficulties of finding means to reconcile our conflicting interests; and, as France knows her own strength and our weakness, there is no likelihood that she will be disposed to make any considerable concessions. I hope that you may have been able to discover this when you enter more into detail with the ministers. If the illness of the king of Spain continues, it will be the more important that you should endeavour, as soon as possible, to ascertain the particulars on which it would be necessary to agree; though I fear that, if they perceive that the event is near at hand, you will meet with much more difficulty and reserve.

Count Tallard has not yet arrived; the contrary winds have detained him at Calais; but he is expected every moment. I shall speak to him in the terms you advise.

P.S. I think I have found out means to keep my regiment of dragoons, which has certainly suffered much, greatly against my will. As soon as ever Parliament closes, I shall make preparations for sending it to Ireland, but God knows when that will be.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, March 31. 1698.

I arrived in this city the evening before yesterday. The king of England is at Windsor with a very few attendants, whom he has taken with him. These are only Lord Albemarle, M. de Remiremont, M. de Marton, M. d'Auverquerque*, Lord Lexington†, Lord Rivers‡, the Comte de Frise, and two brothers of the Earl of Arran§, one of whom is the first lord of the bedchamber to the king.

* Henry of Nassau, Lord of Auverquerque, brother of Odyke, first nobleman of Zealand, famous for his embassies, and of the Earl of Grantham. His father was Lewis of Nassau, natural son of Maurice Count de Nassau and Madame de Mechlin. Auverquerque was King William's Captain of the Guard when Prince of Orange, and Master of the Horse when king of England. He died in 1708.

† Robert Sutton, second Lord Lexington.

‡ Richard Savage, fourth Earl Rivers. (Richard Savage, the poet, is supposed to have been his natural son.)

§ James, Earl of Arran, son of William Douglas and of

The Earl of Albemarle is rising every day in favour; the king, his master, dines with him in private once or twice a week, and M. de Remiremont is sometimes of the party.

It would be rashness in me to pretend to send your Majesty any correct news of the present state of this country after so short a sojourn here. There are, however, truths which are evident to all the world, and one of these is that a state of financial embarrassment has succeeded the former opulence, and that the king is very far from being so much the master as is believed in France. Several Englishmen have already told me so without any reserve; and, if the troops are not yet disbanded, it is because they do not know out of what fund to take the sums granted to pay the arrears. Meantime they are kept on, and the amount of the arrears increases. They see and they say so, and it is not yet decided, though the committee on this matter meets twice a week; but it is difficult to get money.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Windsor, $\frac{\text{March 21.}}{\text{April 1.}}$ 1698.

I have received your letters of the 21st and 25th of March, together with a copy of the letter you

Anne Hamilton, Duchess of Hamilton, who, upon his mother surrendering her honours, became by patent, dated August 10. 1698, Duke of Hamilton. He had six brothers; William, who was residing in France; Charles, Earl of Selkirk; John, Earl of Rutherglen; George, Earl of Orkney, the husband of Elizabeth Villiers; Basil; and Archibald, an admiral.

have written to the Earl of Portland; in which I think you have explained this important matter to him, and have certainly said every thing that can be of any consideration. It remains now to be seen whether the French will proceed to particulars, which I doubt, and still more how it will be possible to find means to bring this important negotiation to a good conclusion; for our interests are so different, that I scarcely see a possibility of reconciling them. Besides, the greatest hardship that appears to me in this business is, the little reliance to be made on engagements with France; and her power will be thereby so much the more considerable, that she will be at liberty to pay just as much regard to the treaties as may suit her convenience, of which we have had but too much experience. On the other hand, I do not see a possibility of preventing France from putting herself in immediate possession of the monarchy of Spain, in case the king should happen to die soon. However, nothing can be done but to take all those steps you mention; and above all, we must labour to bring the Emperor and the elector of Bavaria to an agreement with respect to the succession, otherwise it will be impossible for us to take the proper measures. What Bonrepos has said to you relative to the marine in France, and of their being willing to engage not to equip in case England and Holland did the same, is mere speculation. For our part, we shall confine ourselves to what has been hitherto the practice in time of peace, viz. send a small squadron in the Mediterranean, and one to the West Indies.

I know of no equipment in Holland, and the French must know the same; so that our naval equipments could furnish them with no pretext of equipment, which you may take an opportunity to insinuate to Bonrepos. It would not, however, be improper for Holland to be so far prepared as to be able to equip suddenly in case of need. What Lillieroot has communicated to you of Sweden's intention to renew her alliance with France, is not at all agreeable, though I had expected it. It is evident that that power is anxious to have the appearance of remaining neuter, though all the while it is taking measures with both parties.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Windsor, $\frac{\text{March } 21.}{\text{April } 1.}$ 1698.

The day before yesterday I received your letter of the 26th of March, and almost at the same time a copy of the letter which the Pensionary of Holland has written to you, respecting your important negotiation. I believe that he has weighed all that can be done in an affair of this nature, as it is impossible to arrive at a conclusion until we know more particulars, and how far France would be inclined to go.

I hope, after what his Most Christian Majesty said to you, that they will explain themselves more definitely, since it is reasonable that they ought to make the first proposals, and let us know with what

they would be satisfied, and what they would offer to us for our security.

Our greatest difficulty is how to secure our trade in the Mediterranean, and whether they would be inclined to make some partition with us in the West Indies, or at least allow us to trade there. With respect to the Low Countries, it would be absolutely necessary that the barrier should be much enlarged, certainly not less than according to the basis of the Treaty of the Pyrenees, with the exception of Franche-Comté, which cannot be thought of. If I could have Dunkirk, I think there might be a means of coming to an accommodation.

I mention all this in order that, with a knowledge of my sentiments, you may in future be able to direct your language and arguments accordingly; for I am sufficiently well acquainted with the French to know that, unless we speak, they will not say a word on their part. Besides, I can hardly believe that they will enter into fuller details with you than they have already done; but this you will soon be able to see clearly. I do not know whether Count Tallard will speak to me upon the subject, but assuredly I shall not begin; at all events, not before I know what the ministers have said in conference with you.

You are doubtless aware that Bonrepos has touched upon it to the Pensionary.

I came here last Monday, and intend returning on Saturday, because I have promised a private audience to Count Tallard, at Kensington, on Monday: I cannot ask him to come here, as

there is nobody with me at this place. I am hunting the hare every day in the park with your dogs and mine, and have had some good sport. The rabbits are almost all killed, and the burrows will soon be stopped up. The day before yesterday I took a stag in the forest with the Prince of Denmark's hounds, and had a pretty good run, as far as this villanous country permits.

The Duke of Shrewsbury still lies ill at Woburn. I have been to see him, but have not yet been able to ascertain what he will ultimately resolve upon; he says that it must entirely depend upon the state of his health. It is evident that he has no hopes of my being able to induce Lord Sunderland to return with the consent of the whigs; I therefore cannot think of it, at least while this parliament lasts, and it is impossible to foresee when it will break up. I shall not enter upon what is passing here, for I know that Vernon informs you of all particulars.

THE EARL OF PORTLAND TO WILLIAM III.

Paris, April 2. 1698.

Yesterday I was at Versailles until evening. I went thither in the morning to ascertain from M. de Pomponne and M. de Torcy whether they had consulted the King respecting the answer which they should give me relative to the affairs of Spain, of which I had spoken to them before the holidays, and to hear what proposals they were prepared to make on the part of the King. The substance of

their reply was, that the King having considered what I had said to them in the first conference on this subject, and the jealousy which your Majesty and the nations might conceive at the union of Spain and France under the same king, he was content, 1st, notwithstanding the incontrovertible right of the Dauphin to that crown and succession, to let it be entirely separated, and to leave it to the Spaniards to choose between the Dukes of Anjou and Berry, and was willing to send either of the two, whom they should choose, to Spain, to be educated by natives of the country, without having a single Frenchman about him; 2ndly, that to secure the States and leave them the barrier for their safety, he would cede to the elector of Bavaria the hereditary possession of the Low Countries, as Spain possessed them, and that the Dauphin would renounce them for ever, for himself and his successors; and, 3rdly, that such treaties should be made for the security of the trade of the English and Dutch nations, as might be desired, and to guarantee them every kind of satisfaction.

When they had concluded, I expressed my surprise at hearing such proposals, upon which they demanded my reasons, proving that we ought naturally to feel jealous of the power of the Emperor, if the Spanish succession were united, in its whole extent, to his already vast dominions; and that in such a case we should have every thing to fear from him with regard to commerce, both by land and sea. I accordingly repeated the answer which your Majesty desired me to make on this subject,

adding that this was all I had been commissioned to say. I then requested them to give me in writing the proposals which they had just made, with their reasons at length, as this would probably be more satisfactory to your Majesty than any thing I could say, and being unwilling to add any thing of my own, or make any omissions which your Majesty would have reason to think, since I felt sure that such proposals would appear to you as extraordinary as they did to me. Upon this they stated all their reasons in support of the proposals, and such as they conceived would make them acceptable to your Majesty.

I replied that I had no orders, except to listen to them, and to report to your Majesty what should be proposed to me. Nevertheless, since they entered into arguments upon this affair, I considered it incumbent upon me to tell them my sentiments; that from the manner in which I believed your Majesty looked at matters, both in regard to your own interest and that of your kingdom and of the States, I did not see (considering the state of things in Europe) that the union of Spain to the Empire was to be apprehended as much as a union with France, which is so powerful by sea, and might do much injury to our commerce; that if the king of France intended to separate these two monarchies, by sending to Spain a prince who was the brother of him who was to be king of France, the Emperor might separate them in the same manner, by sending an archduke, brother to the future emperor. But this point was not yet mooted, inasmuch as your

Majesty had not declared yourself upon it, and that it might turn out that the son of the elector of Bavaria had more right to the crown than any other person; that it was evident that an archduke, as king of Spain, would not have more attachment to the emperor, his brother, than a Duke of Anjou or Berry would have for his brother, the king of France, but that it was clear that the electoral prince of Bavaria could not have any prepossession for either the one or the other, but would follow his own interests and those of the monarchy; that to give to the Elector as a barrier only the Low Countries, as Spain now possessed them, was in fact no better than to give him a sieve, and would by no means be the security which we desired; that, moreover, I did not see how they proposed a renunciation of the Dauphin to the Low Countries, in which we should find no more security than in that made by the Infanta of Spain (Maria Teresa) at the time of her marriage, and which the kings of France and Spain had confirmed in the most solemn manner possible; and that the Emperor had perhaps just claims to other kingdoms or countries under the dominion of Spain. Respecting the trade and interest of the nations of which your Majesty made mention, they could not but expect that your Majesty would take all possible care of them; that the Mediterranean trade would be absolutely lost whenever a French king of Spain might think proper, since he would be master of the Straits and of all the countries and ports of that sea, assisted or supported by France. I begged to remind them

that, in our previous conference on the subject, we had spoken of Ceuta, Oran, Gibraltar, and other fortresses at the entrance and within that sea, of which the English and Dutch ought to be masters; and that it was necessary that they should be assured of the commerce of the Spanish possessions in the West Indies, which was of such great importance, that they could not possibly relinquish it, nor run the risk of losing it.

They said a good deal in reply, which, in fact, amounted to nothing, and which it would occupy too much time to repeat: in conclusion, they affirmed that they could not give me the proposals in writing without the King's order, but stated that there was to be a council at two o'clock that afternoon, at which they would report to his Majesty all that had transpired; and that as soon as it was broken up they would inform me of his sentiments, and therefore requested me to wait till half-past three, when they would communicate with me. It was half-past five before they left the King; they then came and told me, that from the tenor of my conversation, of which they had made a report to the King, his Majesty judged that I was sufficiently informed upon the subject not to stand in need of having the proposals in writing; that these were merely the first ideas of his Majesty, who would be most happy to hear those of the king, my master, who must unquestionably have revolved a matter of this nature and importance often enough in his mind, to be prepared to deliver his opinion upon it, and to propose what

would be most agreeable to himself, which they would be very glad to know in order to decide what could be done, and what line of conduct should be pursued in concert, in case of the death of the king of Spain. I promised to despatch an express to your Majesty forthwith, to give you an account of what had passed between us. We then separated.

I believe that your Majesty cannot avoid saying something at least of what you wish, but without omitting any thing, for attempts will assuredly be made to cut off something; and if one wishes to come to an accommodation, it is good to have the advantage. It is more easy to abate of one's demands in the sequel than to increase them. I know not whether your Majesty would think it advisable to say something to the ambassadors of Portugal and Venice, not of the proposal of which I have just been writing to you, but about what should be done in case of the death of the king of Spain, whose life is so precarious, though he is at present somewhat better. This might, perhaps, induce the French to make more haste in doing what your Majesty wishes. The mediation of your Majesty, which the Turks have solicited to conclude peace, and which the ambassador of Venice has published here, as sent to him from Italy, has produced a great sensation.

LOUIS XIV. TO COUNT TALLARD.

Versailles, April 3. 1698.

By my letter of the 27th of last month, I informed you of what I had resolved should be communicated to the Earl of Portland. He has been spoken to, conformably to what I stated to you, and it is necessary that you should be acquainted with the manner in which he replied to what was communicated to him by my orders.

In the first place, he required that the statement he had just heard should be given him in writing, under the plea of conveying a more just and accurate account of it to the king, his master; that he might, perhaps, forget a part of the essential matters which had been said to him, and the arguments by which they were supported, and that a written paper would supply the defect of his memory; that it was absolutely necessary to omit nothing in the account which he was to give to the king of England, because that prince could not let him know his sentiments, except from the knowledge he might have of mine; that he had no other intentions from the king, his master, than to manifest his desire to contribute to the preservation of peace, as far as it shall depend upon him to do so, always bearing in mind the interests of England and Holland.

Lord Portland then added, that, being without instructions, he could only argue as from himself;

that, in his private opinion, it was for the interest of all Europe that the succession to the Spanish monarchy should not fall upon one of my grandsons; that, whatever precautions might be taken to make him adopt only the maxims of Spain,—though he should be placed entirely in the hands of Spaniards,—though none of my subjects should be near him,—all these precautions would never be sufficient to efface the sentiments of his birth, and the impressions of his early education; that the world would always look upon my crown and that of Spain as closely united, and consequently able to give law to the rest of Europe; that the principal interest of the English and the Dutch consists in their commerce; that the greatest misfortune that could happen to them would be to see it interrupted; and that it would not be possible to dispel their fears on that subject if they should see France and Spain actuated by the same views, and in a condition to prevent their trade in the Mediterranean and in the Indies; that nobody will be able to persuade those two nations that there is not evident danger for them if one of my grandsons should acquire the crown of Spain, and be at the same time possessor of all the dependencies of that monarchy;—that with respect to the proposal to cede the Low Countries to the elector of Bavaria, it would be difficult to give sufficient securities for the validity of that cession in future; that even if some could be found, which should appear real and solid, what remains to the king of Spain in the Netherlands is a very weak barrier,

and by no means capable of allaying the apprehensions of the Dutch.

He adduced all the arguments that have been often employed, to contest the justice of the rights of my son; and as it was shown to him, in the course of this long conversation, what all Europe had to fear from the power of the House of Austria, if the dominions possessed by the two branches were to be united in the family of the Emperor alone, by the elevation of the Archduke to the throne of Spain, he several times repeated that he did not propose that the Archduke should obtain this succession; that the electoral prince of Bavaria had a lawful right to it; that his power would not be formidable to the rest of Europe; that there was reason to believe that under his reign the government of Spain would differ but little from what it is at present; that the English and the Dutch would then have nothing to fear for their commerce in the Mediterranean and the Indies; that, however, he only spoke his own sentiments, not knowing the intentions of the king of England; that that prince would, perhaps, think differently, when he should be acquainted with my intentions.

Lord Portland said, that he had expected, when he had begged to be put in possession of my sentiments respecting the Spanish succession, that some proposal would have been made to him, which it would be more easy to agree to; and when he was urged to say what he thought might come pretty near to what the king, his master, wished,

he added, that it would be impossible for him to speak of it, as he had never known the views of that prince on the subject; and even if he did know them, it would be useless to enter into any discussion upon them; that they are probably very different from what has been proposed to him on my part, and that it is impossible to treat, when the parties are so far from being able to agree upon a middle course.

In fine, there is reason to judge, from all the Earl of Portland said, that the king of England would be inclined to favour the claims of the electoral prince of Bavaria; that he would, perhaps, desire to obtain a partition of the West Indies between England and Holland; that his design is, to propose nothing: on the contrary, to induce me to make all advances, and to consider as things already granted, or of little consequence, all the offers which he hopes that I may make, and, if possible, to gain the advantage which a party always has over him who makes the first overtures.

It is besides certain that this affair, being confided to Lord Portland alone, the king of England may defer explaining himself as long as he shall believe that it may be for his interests to conceal his real designs. It will be enough for his ambassador to say that he is without instructions, that he expects fresh orders, or to start other difficulties, which he will say he has it not in his power to remove.

It is, however, very important that I should be informed as soon as possible of what I may expect

from the king of England, and though the health of his Catholic Majesty is at present better, it is so impaired, that we may always expect the opening of the Spanish succession to be near at hand.*

* "The interest of the King (Louis XIV.) was to be informed, as soon as possible, of what he had to expect from England and Holland. Loss of time in a dubious negotiation might change the present disposition of the Spaniards, which if the French ambassador at Madrid neglected to improve, he was doing more for the Emperor, than the ministers and partisans of the House of Austria, supported by the whole credit of the Queen, had hitherto been able to compass. Should the Archduke prevail on the Catholic King, to acknowledge him as presumptive heir to his dominions, war was inevitable. Even if all the princes of Europe, accustomed to behold without alarm the two branches of the House of Austria seated on the Spanish and imperial thrones, should, with the same unconcern, see the whole power of Charles V. divided betwixt the Emperor's two sons; still it would be inconsistent both with the honour and with the interest of France, to suffer the whole Spanish succession to be torn from her Sovereign's children to whom it lawfully belonged. Recourse must therefore be again had to arms; and the King must forego the pleasure of making his subjects enjoy the sweets of peace, which during the greatest part of his reign they had but seldom tasted. Thus his Majesty would lose the fruits of the treaty of Ryswick, which may be said to have been hastened, merely with a view of easing the kingdom, and of rewarding the zeal and inviolable fidelity of his people; a view which the King preferred to the advantageous prospect with which the present situation of affairs seemed to flatter him, were he inclined to maintain those pretensions by the sword, which his enemies were no longer able to dispute. The Earl of Portland pretended to be ignorant of his master's intentions; and therefore Count Tallard had directions to press this prince to explain himself."—*Memoirs of Torcy.*

My intention, therefore, is, that you should make a direct application to the king of England. You will ask for a private audience. You will tell him that I have informed you of all that I directed to be said to the Earl of Portland; that, as he answered, that he was not informed of the intentions of that prince, I have ordered you to apply to himself; that I am so persuaded of his desire to contribute to the preservation of the peace, and, at the same time, of the sincerity of the assurances which he has caused to be given to me on that point, that I have been very glad to show the confidence which I place in his sentiments, in opening my views to him respecting an event so calculated to disturb the general tranquillity, as the death of his Catholic Majesty would be. You will then speak to him conformably to what I have written to you, and your principal object must be to induce that prince to make some proposals to me, however remote they may be from what is contained in the memorial which accompanies this letter.

There is reason to believe, that if this prince enters on the subject with you, he will explain himself in the same manner as Lord Portland has spoken; therefore, to conform yourself entirely to what has been said to that ambassador, you must insist principally on showing that one of my grandsons, educated in Spain, would soon know no other interest than that of the dominions which would be subject to him; that not having any Frenchman about his person, the same government would always subsist; that Spain would act according to

her own maxims, independently of any foreign Crown; that that monarchy would therefore always form a separate body, and be able to maintain the same balance between the powers of Europe; that it would not be the same, if the second son of the Emperor should obtain the succession; that it would be an eternal source of war in Europe; that Spain, which had long been accustomed to act according to the maxims of the House of Austria, rather than agreeably to the true interests of that monarchy, would be entirely subject to the orders of the Emperor; that it would not be difficult for him to replace it in a condition to give him sufficient assistance to increase the Imperial authority, to have it acknowledged in Italy, to reduce the princes of Germany, and, perhaps, one day to give the United Provinces cause for the apprehensions, which they affect not to feel at present, for the designs of the Emperor; that, besides, the Archduke has no right to the succession in Spain; and you will always uphold that of my son as certain, and recognised as such at all times, even by the Civilians of Spain, supported, perhaps, in that kingdom by a party sufficiently considerable to maintain the rights of the lawful heir.

With respect to the commerce of the West Indies and of the Mediterranean, you will show that Spain with a king of her own, educated by the Spaniards, and the government not changing, things would remain on the same footing; and you will avoid, as far as shall be possible for you, any proposal from the king of England for the cession

of the West Indies in favour of the English and the Dutch. If he should make such a proposal, you will say that, having no orders from me respecting a proposal which I could not foresee, you can only speak as of yourself, that you know that the Spanish monarchy cannot be separated from the Indies, and that you will inform me of this new proposal. I do not prescribe to you the arguments which you shall make use of to show him how strong the barrier will be, which I am willing to grant to the Dutch, by securing to the elector of Bavaria the sovereignty of the Low Countries, as his Catholic Majesty now possesses them. You know the importance and the strength of the fortresses which form that barrier; what you must observe is, to show that my son would make a donation of this part of the Spanish succession to the elector of Bavaria, by virtue of the rights pertaining to my son after the death of his Catholic Majesty, and not a renunciation of those rights to the Netherlands in favour of the Elector.

Lord Portland pretended to maintain that that cession would never be solid, since renunciations might be reversed, and for this reason it is necessary clearly to distinguish between the right of ceding a possession already acquired, from the injustice done to a minor by obliging him to renounce beforehand a possession, in which he may one day have an interest, and which does not yet belong to him.

I leave it to your prudence to add such other arguments as are most calculated to support the

orders which I give you, and I desire you to act in such a manner that the king of England may make some proposal, of which you will undertake to give me an account.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, April 3. 1698.

The king of England, of whom I had requested a private audience, let me know that he should not return before Saturday, and that he would give me an audience at Kensington on Monday at eleven o'clock, A. M.

The bill granting a land-tax of three shillings in the pound was read yesterday for the third time. It is granted for 1,500,000*l.* sterling. It is not believed that it will produce a million, and the city has advanced 600,000*l.* on the credit of this tax, which are already made up. It was, however, the most solid fund that could be found in this session, and though it should be levied to the whole amount, it is not the fifth part of what is wanted to pay the arrears due, or to cover the expenditure of the present year.

Your Majesty will see, in the annexed Memorial* the state of the affairs of this nation: all the funds set apart for the matters decided upon are stated; for how much they were set apart and how much

* This memorial is missing, as many others mentioned in these letters.

had been paid up to the 31st December last year; what has been paid since that time to the 22nd of March this year, the amount of which is so small, that your Majesty may form a certain conclusion of the difficulty of raising the immense remainder, which is to be required to defray the expense already incurred, and of that which there will be in finding funds for what the Parliament may still grant.

Permit me, Sire, to come now to what concerns the king of England. The revenues of the sovereign who preceded him were derived from two sources, — from domains formerly attached to the crown, and in gifts or donations made to the kings for their life, by the Parliament, on condition of their keeping up the navy, and what troops there were in England, and of paying the civil list, that is to say, their household and the judges of the kingdom; the ancient domains are all mortgaged for an unlimited period, or given to my Lord Portland and other persons.

The revenues granted to King James for life have been cut off. Thus there remains nothing to the present king but what has just been granted to him, and the funds from which this is to be taken are not yet determined upon; that is to say, 700,000*l.* sterling for life, charged with the civil list of his household and the annuity of the two queens. *

* On December 20, the Commons took the supply into consideration, and resolved, "that in a just sense and acknowledg-

It is true that the Parliament grants special funds for the navy and for the troops, but it does so for one year only; whereas the preceding kings had these grants once for all; and this reduces him to the necessity of convoking Parliament every year, without which he would have no money either for the navy or the army.

I venture to observe to your Majesty, that if the troops which still remain on foot are once disbanded, and the last effort which the country can bear is made to find, I do not say money, but the assignable funds, for the payment of the arrears due, the king of England may still be reckoned of much importance, on account of his personal qualities; but his kingdom must be considered as a country destitute of resources for many years to come.

Thus, Sire, if your Majesty pleases to do nothing which may excite jealousy, either by the movement of your troops, or by declaring your intentions for the future, till the troops are disbanded, your Majesty will be in a condition to negotiate much more advantageously on those points in which you shall have an interest after that time. The elector of Bavaria has had an envoy here for some time past, whose mission may perhaps have reference to the state of the king of Spain's health. I will

ment of what great things his Majesty has done for these kingdoms, a sum not exceeding 700,000*l.* be granted to his Majesty during his life for the support of the civil list."—*Parl. Hist.* vol. v.

inquire whether he usually has an envoy here, or whether it is something extraordinary.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Kensington, $\frac{\text{March 28.}}{\text{April 7.}}$ 1698.

From my last letter, which I wrote to you from Windsor, you will have seen pretty nearly the conditions on which I conceive the difficult and important negotiation which you have on hand might be entered upon; I also added, that, with respect to the restitution of Dunkirk, I did not think that France would consent to it; but that you would soon know this. It will, therefore, be necessary to devise some other expedient,—demolition, or the like; but it is absolutely essential to increase the barrier of the Netherlands, and to have more extensive frontiers than the present.

With regard to the Mediterranean trade, it will be requisite to have ports on the coast of Barbary; for example, Ceuta or Oran, as well as some ports on the coast of Spain, as Mahon, in the island of Minorca, which is said to be a very good port; perhaps we ought to have the whole island, to be the more sure of the port. We must also have some ports in the Indies, which I cannot now specify, not being sufficiently informed of the nature of those countries which the Spaniards possess; and, to give some satisfaction to the Emperor, France must cede to him all that Spain

now possesses in Italy. I believe that you will risk nothing by speaking to the ministers on this footing as my ideas, giving nothing in writing since they have refused to do so, at which I am not at all surprised, though they might easily set down on paper the three points which they have offered you without pledging themselves too far.

What I find most difficult in the whole affair is this, — what security should we have with France that every thing shall be performed according to promise, since, after the declaration which they have just made, that the renunciation of the Queen, mother of the Dauphin, was not in her power, on what promise or renunciation can we any longer rely? On this point your arguments have been very satisfactory, and likewise with respect to the apprehension which we must entertain of the aggrandisement of the Emperor, which is so far from counterbalancing that of France, that I am astonished they are not ashamed of seriously alleging such a reason.

I have not communicated to any one here any thing respecting the proposals which have been made to you *, but in general conversation with

* It seems, however, to result from a passage of a letter addressed by Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury (March 26. O.S.), that he was not entirely unacquainted with the overtures which had been made by the Court of Versailles to the Earl of Portland.

" The king of France is thought to grow very uneasy at the fatigue of business, insomuch that he would be contented to resign Flanders to the Duke of Bavaria, and the territories in

many persons on the state of the health of the king of Spain, I perceive that they are extremely apprehensive of a war, and that they would be inclined to come to an accommodation with France, rather than to engage in a new one, though they think such an accommodation almost impossible, and see no security in it. But so great is the present dread of another war, that it is impossible to form an opinion of what steps they may be capable of taking. It is very certain that that which I shall choose, if choice be in my power, will be inevitably disapproved of and censured. I do not know whether I shall be able to persuade the House of Commons to defer for the present disbanding more troops; but I am secretly labouring to effect it.

From the tenor of the letters I receive from the Pensionary, I perceive that he is decidedly of opinion, that if the king of Spain should die at this time, there is nothing else to be done but to go to war again, because he believes an accommodation with France to be quite impracticable; and he has no doubt the Republic would engage in it without hesitation, and would, in fact, make the greatest efforts. I wish I could as easily persuade people here; but what I fear much more is, that even if they should consent to go to war they will leave me to succumb for want of assistance, of which you know I ran too many risks during the last war. The Pensionary writes me word that

Italy to other people, provided he may secure to himself the quiet possession of Spain and the Indies."

Bonrepos had spoken to President Norf about the necessity of adopting some means to come to an accommodation in the event of the death of the king of Spain; he may perhaps have informed you of this: it makes me fear that this affair will soon be known.

It appears to me most important that you should speak to the ambassador of Portugal, who is now at Paris, respecting what the king, his master, could and would do in such a case, and whether he would enter into some treaty on the subject. With respect to the Venetian ambassador, I think it must be done with much precaution, for I always distrust the Italians.

I should very much wish to send an ordinary ambassador to France before your departure, but I fear it will be difficult for many reasons, for every thing here, as you well know, is done so slowly; you will therefore be obliged to give him the necessary information here.

I believe that, according to what I have written to you, the time for your return is drawing near. I do not know whether this important negotiation may not detain you some time longer than I thought; but I assure you that I am more desirous than I can express to have you again with me. Besides, it is not possible to bear the expense you are incurring. You know that I told you, and even wrote to you, that you might take your audience of leave in due form, some time before your departure, and then stop awhile without your official character, to see the country, and thus retrench

your expenses; and I believe that that would not hinder you from prosecuting this important negotiation.

Count Tallard had his private audience to-day: nothing passed but reciprocal compliments, without our entering upon any business.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, $\frac{\text{March 29.}}{\text{April 8.}}$ 1698.

I find your thoughts entirely occupied with the great storm which seems to hang over our heads by the likelihood of the king of Spain's death. I think you view the matter in its true light, and I am quite of your opinion. I only wish I had the power to efficiently back your hearty sentiments. As far as I can penetrate into the opinions of most people here, there seems so great an aversion to a war at present, that, should France make any kind of plausible proposals of accommodation, and I should ask the opinion of Parliament respecting them, there is no doubt that they will be inclined to accept them, without considering much the security of them; so that, in case a war is to be the upshot of the business, I must take my measures so as to involve this nation insensibly in it. What I can do at present is, to augment the squadron I had destined for the Mediterranean, and hasten its departure. I am also resolved, besides the ships

I had destined for the West Indies, to cause those that are there to remain till further orders: this will make a considerable squadron. I have also thoughts of sending four or five regiments to Jamaica, under pretence of defending our possessions in those parts. I hope to find money for it, which is here always the great stumbling-block. If these men are once there, you will easily feel that, in case of necessity, they may make themselves masters of the Spanish possessions in the West Indies, without France being able to hinder them. I believe, also, I shall be able, at least for some time, to put off any further reduction of troops. This is the utmost it will be in my power to do in the present juncture; the rest must be done by the States and the other allies; at all events, it is certain the Republic must begin and lead the dance. If unfortunately the war should break out soon, we must not flatter ourselves that France will give us the least time to interpose as mediators or otherwise, in order to accommodate the claimants; nor do I believe that they will go a single step further than they have already proposed to Lord Portland, which is in entire accordance with Bonrepos's language. As Palmquist is acquainted with the affair, the negotiation will not long remain secret; nor do I believe that France any longer desires it should. I am of opinion that she will not only endeavour to amuse us, but by her offers to blind people, both here and in Holland, and under some plausible pretext to profit by their aversion to war, so as to induce them to accept

whatever conditions should be offered, rather than to come to hostilities. And in regard to this, I am as apprehensive for the deputies of Amsterdam as I am for the House of Commons here. It were to be wished that some measures could be taken in concert with the northern powers on this occasion; but I see little probability of it, particularly with Sweden. I intend, however, to speak with the ambassador on the subject. We must also see what is to be expected from Portugal, so greatly interested in the matter, and so near the scene. It will be necessary to hasten M. Hop's journey to Vienna. I am at a loss whom to send thither, but were Hop there, it would be enough for the present.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, April 8. 1698.

The king of England returned from Windsor on Saturday last, as he had informed me that he should do: he passed the Sunday in his devotions, and granted me a private audience yesterday morning. I was introduced by the master of the ceremonies. He received me in his cabinet, where he had already been for two hours, without making me wait a moment. After having paid my respects, according to the terms indicated in my instructions, I delivered him the letter which

your Majesty had done me the honour to send him through me.

When I had finished he again spoke. He enlarged on the engagements into which he had entered, which had obliged him to take steps contrary to the interests of your Majesty; on the pleasure which he felt at finding himself now in a condition to manifest the sentiments which he entertained for you; in fine, Sire, he repeated all that which your Majesty knows he has already said on similar occasions, and I find only two points in his conversation which deserve to be particularly stated to your Majesty: one, that the esteem which he had for you amounted to admiration, — these are his own words; the other, that he should much regret that any incident should arise which might impair the perfectly good understanding which he desires to preserve with you. Your Majesty will know better than any body, that this last expression can allude only to King James, or to the Spanish succession.

As I saw that he did not speak to me of any affairs, I did not think that I should enter into any discussion in this first audience, especially having seen by the letter, which your Majesty did me the honour to write to me on the 3d of this month, and which I did not receive till I was setting out for Kensington, that I should be obliged shortly to ask him for another audience, at which I might bring forward all the points respecting which I should have something to say to him.

There are strong cabals against the Court, both in the Upper and the Lower House. The Duke

of Leeds, and the Earls of Rochester*, Nottingham†, and Peterborough‡ are at the head in the

* The Earl of Rochester was reckoned a man of parts, and had a good pen, though he did not speak gracefully. When he entered public life, and rose to high posts, he grew violent, but was thought incorrupt. He had high notions of government, which he thought must be maintained with severity. He was one of the commissioners of the treasury in the reign of King Charles II., and afterwards lord president of the council; but growing weary of a place which procured him neither confidence nor dependence, he was made lord lieutenant of Ireland. At King James's accession he was made lord treasurer, and was one of the ecclesiastical commissioners. Soon after, for refusing to turn Catholic, he lost the white staff.

King William had conceived a prejudice against him, and it is said that it arose from his having passed through Holland without waiting upon him. His aversion was confirmed by Lord Rochester warmly insisting upon the hereditary title of James to the throne, and vehemently pressing for a regency in the Convention Parliament. Though he acquiesced in the new settlement, and was no friend to the late king, Queen Mary, his niece, was so prejudiced against him at first, that he in vain endeavoured to recover her favour. But, at last, by means of Burnet, the queen laid aside her resentment, and by degrees admitted him into a high measure of favour and confidence. He was made a privy councillor in 1691.

† Daniel Finch, second Earl of Nottingham, and sixth Earl of Winchelsea, was the son of the chancellor of Nottingham.

‡ Charles, second Viscount Mordaunt of Avalon, first Earl of Monmouth, and third Earl of Peterborough. In his youth he had served in the navy. On the accession of James II. he was one of the chief speakers in the House of Lords against the repeal of the test act; and, disliking the proceedings of the court, he got leave to go over to Holland, intending to accept the command of a Dutch squadron in the West Indies. On his arrival at the Hague (1686), "Lord Mordaunt," as relates Burnet, "was the first of all the English nobility that came over openly to see

House of Lords; Messrs. Seymour *, Thomas Dick Grenville†, Musgrave‡, and Foley, who is the

the Prince of Orange; and then he pressed him to undertake the business of England; and he represented the matter as so easy, that this appeared too romantical to the prince to build upon it." When the prince at length undertook the expedition, he was in that fleet which landed his Highness in England. On the accession of William and Mary, he was sworn of their privy council, and made one of the lords of the bed-chamber to his Majesty. On April 6th, 1689, he was constituted first lord commissioner of the treasury; and in order that he might attend the coronation as an earl, he was the day after advanced to the dignity of Earl of Monmouth. In May, 1694, he was succeeded by Henry Sydney, as first commissioner of the treasury. In 1697, at the decease of his uncle, he succeeded to the earldom of Peterborough. It is under this name he is better known by the remarkable services he rendered to his country during the war of the succession.

* Sir Edward Seymour was a man of high birth, being the elder branch of the Seymour family, and graceful, bold, and quick. He was the most assuming Speaker that ever sat in the chair. He knew the House and every member in it so well, that by looking about him he could tell the fate of any question, and accordingly made his arrangements. Though he had not only violently opposed all King William's measures, but had reflected on his title and conduct, he was, during the winter, 1691, brought into the treasury and the cabinet council. According to Burnet, Sir E. Seymour was a very corrupt man, and received large sums of money from the King.

† Richard Grenville, of Wotton, who married the daughter of Sir Peter Temple.

‡ Sir Christopher Musgrave, Knt. "He was," says Burnet, "a gentleman of noble family in Cumberland, whose life had been regular and his deportment grave. He had lost a place in King James's time: for though he was always a high Tory, yet he would not comply with his designs. He had, indeed, contributed much to increase his revenue, and to offer him more than he asked; yet he would not go into the taking off

Speaker * are the chief supporters of the party of the nation in the Lower House. The wishes of the King

the tests. Upon the Revolution, the place out of which he had been turned was given to a man that had a good share of merit in it. This alienated him from the King; and he, being a man of good judgment and of great experience, came to be considered as the head of the party; in which he found his account so well, that no offers that were made him could ever bring him over to the King's interests. Upon many critical occasions he gave up some important points, for which the King found it necessary to pay him very liberally." To this passage of Burnet's Lord Dartmouth and Speaker Onslow have appended the following remarks:—"Lord Pelham, who was a lord of the treasury in King William's time, told me, that to his knowledge he had seven thousand pounds for settling the King's revenue for life (1698), and that he carried the money himself in bank bills to the king's closet for that usage.——Mr. Pope alludes somewhere (in his Epistle on the use of riches, v. 135.) to Musgrave's having received money from the King, and that it was discovered by his dropping one of the bags as he was coming down the back stairs at Court. The occasion was the settling of the civil list. The King desired it might be 700,000*l.* a year, and the contrivance for it was thus: somebody for the Court was to propose a million, upon which Musgrave was to rise up and exclaim against the extravagancy of the demand, and the danger of it, and, after many severe reflections upon the Court, he was to conclude with saying, 'he dared venture to answer for country gentlemen, that if the demand had been for a modest and reasonable sum, it would not have met with any opposition; that they were not unwilling to support the greatness and dignity of the crown, and that he thought, for all good purposes of government, 700,000*l.* would be sufficient, and hoped no larger sum would be given into.' This he undertook and did, and the Court got what they wanted." Burnet, under the year 1705, says, "I have good reason to believe that he had twelve thousand pounds from the late King at different times."

* Paul Foley, of Stoke-Edith Court, Hereford. At the Revolution, he was one of the members of the Parliament Conven-

are checked, and it is only by his extreme patience, and by incessantly applying remedies to everything, that he succeeds in a part of what he desires; never appearing to be hurt at any resolution which may have been taken, of whatever nature it may be, causing his creatures to bring forward anew, in a different form, what has already been refused, and contenting himself with gaining a part when he cannot have the whole. But it must be observed that those persons who are opposed to his will are not opposed to his government; not wishing for commotion, and only desirous of hindering him from becoming master.

People murmur here at the journey to Holland, whither it is thought he will go at the end of July. The natives of that country, who are here, are insupportable to the English; above all, the Earl of Portland; and it may be said with truth, that

tion, who argued strenuously for the vacancy of the throne, and one of the managers at the free conferences with the Lords on that occasion. On December 26, 1690, he was elected by the House of Commons one of the commissioners for stating the public accounts. He was chosen Speaker on March 14, 1695, in the room of Sir John Trevor, expelled; and in the next Parliament was again unanimously chosen Speaker, on November 22, 1695. He died in 1699. "Mr. Paul Foley," says Burnet, "was a younger son of one who, from small beginnings, had, by iron works, raised one of the greatest estates that had been in England in our time. He was a learned, though not a practising, lawyer; and was a man of virtue and good principles, but morose and wilful; and he had the affectation of passing for a great patriot, by his constant finding fault with the government, and keeping an ill humour, and a bad opinion of the Court."

this nation measures its hatred to them according to the degree of favour they enjoy, for they begin no longer to like the Earl of Albemarle. The health of the king of England appears to be pretty good, though he has a tumour in one knee, which sometimes causes a swelling on that side of the leg, so that when he returns from hunting he is carried up the steps of the palace.

I had the honour to write to your Majesty in my last letter, that there was an envoy of the elector of Bavaria resident here, and that I would inquire whether it was usual for him to have one; I have heard that it is not, and that it is only when some particular business is in agitation that one is sent; that M. de Simeonis, who at present holds this office, is the man in whom he has the greatest confidence, and to whom he is the most attached. He had yesterday an audience of the King, which lasted more than three quarters of an hour, and there is no doubt, from all these circumstances, that he has come hither by reason of the state of the king of Spain's health.

Considering the scanty means which the elector of Bavaria possesses to support, by himself, his pretensions to the Spanish succession, it is much to be feared that he may give himself up to the king of Great Britain, and make a treaty with him, either for the West Indies, or for the Low Countries. We must not hope to discover anything on this point here. It is through Brussels that your Majesty must endeavour to become acquainted with it, for as no person is permitted to participate

in the secret, it is impossible to learn any thing about it in this country.

LOUIS XIV. TO COUNT TALLARD.

Marly, April 10. 1698.

Your letters of the 31st of last month, and of the 3rd instant, inform me of your arrival in London, of the attention which the principal people of the nation have shown you, and of what you have learned respecting the affairs of the kingdom. I am very well satisfied with the precise account which you give me of all these points. Your account of the debts and revenue of the King shows me that the English have reduced that prince to the necessity of taking all his resolutions in concert with the nation, and there is reason to believe that, exhausted as it seems to be by the late war, it would be difficult to induce it to engage in another.

You will discover this better when you have made a longer stay in London, and yet I shall be very glad to learn that the troops still on foot are disbanded. Mine will make no movement which can occasion any uneasiness.

The elector of Bavaria has not been accustomed to have an envoy in London. Hence the presence of the one who is now sent, on the part of the Elector, to the king of England, can have no other motive than that which you assign to it. It is

probable that the bad health of the king of Spain obliges him to take, if he can, some measures with the king of England, and I am persuaded that you will soon acquaint me with the feelings of the nation on an event so calculated to excite a new war.

I have learnt by a letter which the Marquis d'Harcourt * wrote to me on the 19th, from Madrid,

* Ambassador of France to the Court of Spain. He was created Duke at the accession of the Duke of Anjou to the Spanish throne. He had arrived at Madrid at the end of December, 1697. "C'était," says Saint Simon, "un beau et vaste génie d'homme, un esprit charmant, mais une ambition sans bornes, et quand il pouvait prendre le montant, une hauteur, un mépris des autres, une domination insupportable; tous les dehors de la vertu, tout son langage, mais, au fond, rien ne lui coutait pour arriver à ses fins; le plus adroit de tous les hommes en ménagements et en souterrains, et à se concilier l'estime et les vœux publics sous une écorce d'indifférence, de simplicité. Il savait tout allier et se rallier. Il était assez supérieur à lui,—même pour sentir ce qui lui manquait du côté de la guerre, quoiqu'il en eut des parties, mais les grandes, il n'y atteignait pas; aussi tourna-t-il court vers le conseil dès qu'il espéra y pouvoir entrer. Aucun seigneur n'eut le monde et la cour si généralement pour lui, aucun n'était plus tourné à y faire le premier personnage, peu ou point de plus capâble à le soutenir; avec cela beaucoup de hauteur et d'avarice, qui toutefois ne sont pas des qualités attirantes. Pour la première, il la savait ménager; mais l'autre se montrait à découvert jusque par la singulière frugalité de sa table à la cour. Il mélait avec grace un air de guerre à un air de cour, d'une façon tout à fait noble et naturelle. Il était gros, point grand, et d'une laideur particulière, et qui surprenait, mais avec des yeux si vifs et un regard si perçant, si haut et pourtant doux, et toute une physionomie qui pétillait d'esprit et de grace, qu'à peine le trouvait-on laid; naturellement gai et aimant à s'amuser."

that the health of the king of Spain was a little better, but, at the same time, it appears to me that we must not calculate much on the life of that prince.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, April 1—11. 1698.

I find people begin here more and more to fear the death of the king of Spain, which they consider as a signal for war. In that case, it appears that they are resolved to engage in it; but they would contribute little or nothing except to the navy, and abandon the care of the war by land to the Republic and the other allies. So far from this, I see no likelihood of inducing the Parliament to give money sufficient to keep so considerable a body of troops in the Spanish Netherlands, as I had in the last war; and without that I see no possibility of defending them.

Count Tallard has had a private audience of me to-day, and made the same propositions as Pomponne and Torcy have done to the Earl of Portland. I told him the affair was of too delicate and important a nature, to be able to give any answer to these propositions, or for me to make any, as he desired, seeing that I and the Republic are in alliance with the princes interested in the question of the succession; but that I was willing to enter

into a discussion with him, on the subject, without coming to any engagement. We had therefore a very long conversation on this important matter, and much reasoning on both sides. I gave him to understand that I foresaw no possibility of accommodation, unless at least all the Spanish possessions in Italy should be ceded to the Emperor, and the Spanish Netherlands to the elector of Bavaria, not in the condition they now are, but with a stronger and greater barrier, which might be discussed hereafter; to us, some ports in the Mediterranean, and in the West Indies, for the security of the commerce of both nations. This is a summary of what passed in the conversation, of which he will not fail to make a report; and I have no doubt but he will speak to me further about it. I think I have not gone too far; and I have certainly come under no engagement.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Kensington, April 1—11. 1698.

The journey which you have taken to see the Prince of Vaudémont * is probably the reason why

* "Portland fit un trait au milieu de son séjour qui donna fort à penser, mais qu'il soutint avec audace sans faire semblant de s'apercevoir qu'on l'eut même remarqué. Vaudémont passait des Pays Bas à Milan, sans approcher de la cour. Soit affaires, soit galanterie pour l'ami intime de son maître, il partit de

I have received no letters from you since the 2d of this month. I shall doubtless have some to-morrow or the day after: however, I think it necessary to inform you of what passed to-day at a private audience, for which Count Tallard had applied. He told me that he had been made acquainted with what has passed between you and the ministers, and with the proposals which they had made to you, to prevent a war in the event of the death of the king of Spain, and that he had orders to repeat the same proposals to me, not doubting that you had informed me of them, and desiring to know my sentiments on the subject. I replied that I wished for nothing more than the continuation of peace, and that I should be very glad to take all possible measures to prevent a war; that the affair of which he spoke was of too important and delicate a nature (as there were princes interested in it, with whom I was in alliance), for me to offer any suggestion on my part, or reply to the proposal which had been made to you, and which was now repeated to myself; but that I was nevertheless ready to enter into conversation with him on this momentous question. He then began by repeating the same things, which I believe the ministers said to you, and which it is not necessary for me to repeat. Upon this, I entered into a long argument, and expressed my conviction that I saw no appearance of an accommodation, unless all the

Paris et s'en alla à Notre-Dame de Liesse, auprès de Laon, voir Vaudémont, qui y passait." — *Mémoires de Saint-Simon.*

Spanish possessions in Italy, at least, were ceded to the Emperor, and the Low Countries to the elector of Bavaria, not in the state in which they now are, but with a stronger and more extensive barrier, which might be agreed upon when we should enter more fully into the subject:—I did not think fit to mention Dunkirk in this interview, including it as I did in the barrier, and thinking it better that you should make the first overture; and that, with regard to our commerce, some places in the Mediterranean and in the West Indies were necessary, without specifying any in particular. When, at the commencement of our conversation I said to him, that, in the proposals which had been made to you, something had been said about commercial regulations, he replied, that that might be the case, but that he had not received any communication on this point. I told him that this surprised me, since I was very sure that you had made no mistake in your narrative. I did not conceal from him that I had replied to you in nearly the same manner as I had spoken to him, not doubting that, before these letters reach you, you will have had a conference with the ministers, of which he will be informed; it would therefore be of no use to conceal anything from him, since I see also that they mean to negociate through him; and though he strongly assured me that secrecy was desired by France, I find by the letters of the Pensionary that the matter begins to be known, Lillieroot having spoken to him about it, and what Bonrepos has said to Norf will soon make the

matter still more known, which we cannot prevent if France will have it so, as I fear, though they affirm the contrary.

People here begin to be more and more apprehensive of the death of the king of Spain, believing that it would certainly plunge us in war, in which I very clearly see that, if the case should happen, they would indeed resolve upon it, but would desire to contribute only to a naval war, and take very little part in a war by land, which you know is impossible, without losing everything. I am preparing to go next Monday to Newmarket, and to stay there ten or twelve days. I do not doubt that before my departure I shall receive some letters from you to which I shall reply.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, April 11, 1698.

The day before yesterday I requested an audience of the king of England, in obedience to the written instructions with which your Majesty had honoured me. He granted it this morning, and I have just returned from it. I began, Sire, by telling him that your Majesty had done me the honour to inform me of what the ill health of the king of Spain had given you occasion to say to Lord Portland; but that, the latter having answered that he spoke only of himself, and that he was ignorant of the sentiments of the king, his master, your

Majesty had ordered me to apply to himself, and to tell him that you were so fully persuaded of the desire which he entertained to contribute to the preservation of peace and of the sincerity of the assurances which he had given you on that point, that your Majesty was very happy to display to him on this occasion the confidence which you had in his sentiments by making some overtures to him respecting the event most likely to disturb the general tranquillity, if the king of Spain should die. I added that I was ready to repeat to him the last things which M. de Pomponne and M. de Torcy had said to his ambassador, but that, as I was persuaded that the latter had had the honour of giving him an account of them, I would not trouble him to listen to them a second time, unless he expressed a wish to the contrary.

He paused a moment after I had finished, to see whether I would add any thing further; and, as I remained silent, he said in reply that he believed that what your Majesty proposed consisted of three points: namely, to take measures to secure the sovereignty of the Netherlands to the elector of Bavaria, to put the remainder of the Spanish monarchy into the hands of one of the sons of the Dauphin, and to conclude a treaty of commerce.

I interrupted him, and said that I was informed of the first two articles of which he had just spoken, that the third was unknown to me; that, however, if Lord Portland had communicated it to him, I had nothing to say, but that your Majesty had not written anything to me on that subject.

He replied, that Lord Portland had informed him of it.

He then proceeded to enlarge on the opinion most generally received in Europe, that the renunciation of the late Queen was valid; that with respect to the person who had a right to be the heir of the king of Spain, this was a point which would not be decided by advocates and lawyers; that it was much to be feared that it would be necessary to have recourse to the sword before it could be settled; that for his part he desired peace; that he would contribute to its preservation as far as depended on himself; that he was old and worn out; that he should be very glad to enjoy repose; that he should be sorry to see war rekindled in Europe, and especially if he were obliged to act in opposition to the interests of your Majesty, but that he could be guided by no other rule than the interests of the kingdoms which he governed, and those of the republic, at the head of which he is placed, and which has deference to his sentiments; that the power of France is alone to be feared. He added to this a very long discourse, full of affected digressions, and without much connection, in order to avoid all explanation of his views.

I had the honour of telling him, in reply, that the proposals which your Majesty had caused to be made to Lord Portland all concurred in removing the jealousy which might be felt of that power of which he spoke; that the Netherlands, in the hands of the elector of Bavaria, ought to dispel all the apprehension which England and Holland

might entertain of the greatness of your Majesty; that, this having been done, it seemed much more natural to dispose of Spain in favour of a prince who had a legitimate right to it, than in favour of another; that the proposal which your Majesty made, that the Dauphin should transfer to one of the princes, his sons, the right which he has to the Spanish monarchy, after the death of his Catholic Majesty, was advantageous to all Europe, because that to place that prince, at the age of 11 or 12 years, in the hands of the Spaniards, without any Frenchman about him, would be to make the Council of Spain master of the government for ten years; that before the expiration of that time the young prince would have forgotten that he was born in France, and that it is but too common for those of his rank to rise against their masters, even at a time when they are their subjects; that history is full of the wars which the dukes of Guienne and Normandy waged against the kings, their brothers; that the conduct of the House of Burgundy, with regard to that of France, from which it sprung, is another proof that princes follow the interests of the countries which they govern, without remembering their birth; and that France, having neither a cabal nor authority at Madrid, would be wholly separated and without influence over the king who might reign in Spain; that it would not be the same with the Archduke; that the Emperor governed every thing at this hour in those countries, though there was a king of age, who had long reigned; that it would be still worse if that crown

were in the hands of one of his children, and the regency, perhaps, in those of the present Queen; that, with respect to the son of the elector of Bavaria, he never could have any right, but from the will of Philip IV., and that nothing was more notorious in Spain than the invalidity of such documents, there being several instances to show that no attention was ever paid to them.

In reply, he again referred to the nullity of the rights of the Dauphin: "at least," said he, "according to the opinion of those who have most carefully examined the matter," indicating by this that he was not among the number. He then developed by a long train of arguments, that, as the death of the king of Spain had always been considered an event that might occur at any moment, he would not conceal that at the beginning of the last war he had entered into some treaty with the Emperor on the subject; that I might know that there had also been one between the Archduchess and that prince: he then entered into a digression on other matters. As I thought that it was time to come to a conclusion, after having given an hour to see what I might naturally infer from what had been said, I again spoke, and said, "Sire, if I were speaking to a prince less enlightened and less versed in the affairs of the world than your Majesty, I should endeavour to prove the rights of the Dauphin, of which it seems that your Majesty is not convinced; but, Sire, you know better than I do that a minor cannot make a valid renunciation; what might be said on either side is known to your Majesty; I

should therefore feel that I was abusing your patience to no purpose, if I were to speak further on that point."

I added, that I did not attempt to disguise my sentiments, and that, having passed my life in a different employment from that of foreign affairs, I should have trembled at having to negociate with him, if I had not believed that all the turnings and windings, which are dignified with the name of ability in an ambassador, would be of no avail with him; that I was persuaded that he disregarded words, and attended only to facts, and that it was under this persuasion that I took the liberty of telling him frankly that I would never believe that his real sentiments were to let the son of the Emperor take possession of all the dominions which would become vacant by the death of the king of Spain.

He told me that he would reply in the same manner in which I had spoken to him, and that he would tell me, since I was desirous of knowing, that he believed the elector of Bavaria to be the prince who would be the most acceptable to all Europe.

I resumed, "What, Sire! Spain, the Indies, Italy, and the Netherlands, to the son of the elector of Bavaria!" He repeated what he had said in vague and diffuse terms, and purposely intricate. I said at length, "Sire, it is abusing your patience. Have the goodness to tell me what your Majesty would have me answer to that which the king, my master, has ordered me to say." He replied that it was a delicate matter for an explanation. I rejoined, and assured

him of the sincerity of your Majesty's sentiments; that there was no intention of inducing him to explain himself, to obtain an advantage over the other courts; that your Majesty was proceeding with good faith; that you desired to act in concert with him, from the esteem which you had for him, and for the preservation of peace; that he was too enlightened to think that your Majesty would say more than you had done, even though you might think of it, till it was seen from the correspondence on his side; that, in short, to show the sincerity of your Majesty's intentions, and of the secrecy which should be observed, I would consent that he should disavow what he might have said to me, if it should happen to be spread abroad. He replied: Well, Sir, I will now speak otherwise than I should do to an ambassador; I open myself to M. de Tallard, and not to a man bearing an official character. I believe that it would be proper to give the Netherlands to the elector of Bavaria, forming of them a reasonable barrier for the safety of Holland, for what remains to the Spaniards is not a barrier; to give Spain and the Indies to a son of the Dauphin; to give a considerable portion of Italy, which, said he, is, I believe, Milan and the kingdom of Naples, to the Archduke; and to make a treaty of commerce, that England and Holland may not be disturbed, by giving some places of safety for trade in the Mediterranean, and for the security of commerce in the Indies. He passed very slightly over this last point, and added, that he had been too long engaged in business not to have known that he could, if he

would, get rid of the difficulty by telling me that his ambassador in France was informed of his intentions, but, that he would treat me without reserve, and added, smiling, that if it should come to be known, he would disavow me; for that it was not to your Majesty's ambassador that he had spoken, because, said he, jestingly, we decide very boldly on matters which are not in our own power.

As I had been in his Majesty's cabinet more than an hour by the clock, I did not think I ought to enter into longer discussions on the matter, by making any reply respecting the barrier. I therefore contented myself with saying, that, although what he had done me the honour to say was very different from the instructions with which your Majesty had done me the honour to furnish me, I should not fail to give you an account of it.

As I was about to withdraw, the King said: I must speak to you in my turn; it is, however, on a subject on which I prefer speaking through my ambassador to doing so myself; but I would continue to speak to you frankly. You know, without doubt, that Lord Portland has already spoken to his Most Christian Majesty respecting the removal of King James. I confess that I extremely desire this point, and that, so long as he shall be at St. Germains, I do not understand how I can contract so strict a union as I am disposed to do with the king your master. I answered, that I could not dissent from the reasons which he had for desiring the removal of King James, but at the same time I saw how impossible it was for your

Majesty to accede to it; that this must be considered as a consequence of by-gone misunderstandings; that it must be left to expire of itself; and that both parties must be contented with not entering into engagements that might clash with each other; that this article had been thoroughly discussed in the conferences between Marshal Boufflers and the Earl of Portland.

He interrupted me by saying that he admitted this; that he asked nothing by virtue of the treaty of peace; but that he expected, from your Majesty's friendship, that you would find it expedient to make King James leave France; that Avignon, Modena, Rome, were all the same to him. I replied that I was convinced of the sentiments which your Majesty entertained for him, but that I left him to judge and to examine, if it was possible that your Majesty could make a king quit his dominions, who was his cousin-german, and who had come to ask him for an asylum at a time when your Majesty and himself had the most opposite interests. He replied with some warmth, that expedients might be found for anything when there was an inclination to do it, and that King James desired to remain at St. Germains only because it was nearer to England, and by his manner of speaking, he left me no room to doubt that the "nearer to England" alluded to the design of an attempt upon his person. When he saw that I did not seem to understand him, and that I did not enter into any discussion, he assumed a very serious air, and broke off abruptly.

This Sire, is, to the best of my recollection, the most essential part of what passed in the audience which he gave me this morning, and which lasted more than an hour and a quarter by the clock; and the inference which I drew, from his manner, his demeanour, and his designedly obscure language, is, that he had much difficulty in explaining himself with reference to the Spanish succession; that, when he said that the best, and most considerable portions of Italy should be given to the Archduke, and when he mentioned only Milan and the kingdom of Naples, I did not think that he had forgotten Sicily, but that, comprehending it under the name of "other things less considerable," I thought that he might have cast his eyes on the port of Messina as the place of safety, in the Mediterranean, of which he spoke.

He said nothing which could enable me to judge of what his wishes were respecting the Indies, for he twice stopped short at the words Spain and the Indies to the son of the Dauphin.

LOUIS XIV. TO COUNT TALLARD.

Versailles, April 15. 1698.

It is right that you paid attention to what the king of England said, in general, of the incidents which might cause some change in the good understanding which subsists. But I am

persuaded that this language referred rather to the opening of the Spanish succession, than to the residence of King James at St. Germains. I have reason to believe that, if he speaks to you on the latter point, it will be only at the beginning of your residence at his Court; and even then that he will not make any positive demand for the removal of that prince from St. Germains. I know quite certainly that he has disapproved of the conduct of Lord Portland; that he had not given him any instructions to speak to me about it in an audience required expressly for that object; that it was his intention that his ambassador should take a suitable opportunity to insinuate that, as the safety of the king, his master, depended on his receiving this mark of my friendship, he hoped that I would consent to show it him. You will easily judge that this circumstance is solely for your own instruction; it seems necessary to inform you of it, because it will be always an advantage for you to know, as far as possible, the intentions of that prince, and, being aware of his sentiments on a subject which he seemed to have so much at heart, it will be still more easy for you to answer, conformably to the intimation I have given Lord Portland as to my intentions.

The letters of the Marquis d'Harcourt of the 6th of this month confirm the recovery of the king of Spain's health; and there is reason to hope that it may soon be sufficiently restored, to put an end to the uneasiness which the severity of his disorder had caused in all Europe.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Newmarket, April 6—16. 1698.

I came here last Monday evening to divert myself for ten or twelve days. You will have seen, by my preceding letter, what I shall be able to do, in case of the sudden death of the king of Spain. I have nothing to add to it. I see Bonrepos is for dealing with you with much *finesse*, as is his way, but Tallard has spoken much more plainly to me, as I informed you in my last. I do not doubt but I shall hear further from him on my return to Kensington, and in a few days from the Earl of Portland, from whom I yesterday received a letter dated the 9th, the day after his return from paying a visit to the prince of Vaudémont on his way through France: he therefore had not yet seen any of the ministers, but expected to do so the next day, so that I look hourly for letters from his Excellency, though I am quite persuaded that the French will not explain themselves further, or make any other propositions than those they have made, and will not at all relish the conversation I had with Tallard. Consequently I look upon this negotiation as nearly at an end. As the affair now stands, I think it lucky that we have no further engagement with the Emperor in regard to the succession; and that it is questionable whether the Grand Alliance subsists or not; for I am much afraid that, in case the king of Spain should now happen to die suddenly, we should be obliged to come to an accommodation; as I do not see how,

in our present situation, we should be able soon to put ourselves in a condition to withstand the present superiority of the power of France. I am much pleased with the measures which you think may and ought now to be taken, and wish they may be set about; which shall be done as far as depends on me. But I think we should be very cautious about engaging ourselves further with the Emperor, for he is so much interested in this affair, that it will always depend upon us to engage ourselves just so far as the occasion and our interest shall require; and should we do so beforehand, by a formal convention or treaty, we should find our hands so bound as to be obliged to observe it implicitly, without any reference to our situation or interest at the time.

THE EARL OF PORTLAND TO WILLIAM III.

Paris, April 16. 1698.

After receiving the letter which your Majesty did me the honour to write to me on the 7th April while the Court was at Marly, from which it did not return till Saturday, the Dauphin having sent for me on Monday to hunt with him at Meudon, I was not able to speak to the King till yesterday, Tuesday, when he gave me an audience. As I had already on Saturday told M. de Pomponne all that your Majesty had commanded me, and as I knew that the King was informed of it, I did not think proper to show any eagerness in this affair.

I began therefore by saying that I was in doubt whether he wished that I should say any more on the subject since the king of Spain had entirely recovered from his illness. He replied in the affirmative, and said that at all events it was very necessary to know what we had to trust to, and that, since he desired to live on terms of friendship and on a good understanding with your Majesty, it was necessary to agree with you on all that might happen, in order to prevent war, which he by no means wished for. He then told me that his ambassador had had an audience of your Majesty, and had spoken to you on the subject. As I had not received any letters, this surprised me, not knowing to what extent your Majesty had explained your sentiments; but when the King saw that I did not know any thing of it, he related to me what had passed, and expressed very great satisfaction at the manner in which your Majesty had spoken to Count Tallard, and especially at what you had said to him. He then entered into details on the subject of the barrier to the Low Countries, and intimated that he was not against the extension, but that, as your Majesty would desire one which was good, it was also reasonable that he should retain one which should cover and secure his dominions.

I replied that there was enough for both, and that France was not in a condition to fear anything, or to have so much need of a barrier as the Netherlands. With respect to the Emperor, he agreed that it was right that your Majesty should take care that he should be reasonably dealt with in Italy;

and then he spoke of the interests of England and Holland, and of the security of their commerce. I took the liberty of telling him my sentiments quite plainly, as I had spoken to the ministers, and particularly respecting places in the Mediterranean and the Indies, which I said those two nations would be unwilling to renounce in favour of France.

In reply, he said, that wishing to see his grandson settled in Spain, it must be in such a manner that he could maintain himself there, and asked: what the king of Spain would be without the Indies? I answered that they were of very great extent, and that, if they were divided, there would perhaps be sufficient for both parties, at once for the support of Spain on the one hand, and on the other for the security of the commerce of the two nations. To this he did not say much in reply; then, speaking of the safety of our commerce, he replied to what I had said to his ministers, that the island of Minorca had Port Mahon, which was a very good port, and that Oran and Ceuta, though not very good places, were nevertheless strong enough against the enemies which they had to fear, and that it was known that they had often withstood the sieges of the Moors, as well as Gibraltar, in spite of their being very badly defended. I said that that place was in Spain, at the entrance of the Straits, and that I did not know if the three latter places had ports capable of containing ships, which was what we most wanted.

I afterwards told him that this affair required

secrecy, and that your Majesty was incapable of forsaking those who had so long been your allies, so soon as peace was made; that his Majesty, who did not wish to inspire them with any jealousy, could not condemn these sentiments.

I then told him that the proposals which had been made to me had been known from the beginning, and that your Majesty had seen the letters which foreign ministers had already written about them to Holland and to England. He said that he commended the sentiments of your Majesty; that he should trust so much the more to your word; and that as for the secret, he was sorry it had been so ill kept; that he should express his displeasure, in order to prevent it for the future; but that he believed that the foreign ministers had guessed, when they learnt the illness of the king of Spain, and had judged that it was the only means to be adopted for preventing a war in future. He then again mentioned the satisfaction which he felt at the manner in which your Majesty had spoken to his ambassador, of which the latter had informed him.

I told him that, as I had only spoken my private sentiments from the knowledge which I had of those of your Majesty, I would ask whether it was his pleasure that I should have the honour of speaking to him after I had received your Majesty's orders. He replied most courteously in the affirmative.

Soon after dinner I received your Majesty's letters; I went to M. de Pomponne and M. de Torcy,

to tell them what had passed at my audience, and begged them to let me know when the King, who was gone out shooting, would wish me to return. This they promised to do, and I await their reply. I shall not fail to speak to them of Dunkirk; but I think that your Majesty will judge it necessary to speak of it to Count Tallard, as well as of the Indies, and the towns in the Mediterranean, in order that they may not believe that I make matters more difficult, and fancy that these demands, issuing from my own head, require less attention, for I am obliged to tell your Majesty that people here are much inclined to do this, making civil speeches, and wanting to make me pass for a much more enlightened and clear-sighted man than I am.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, April 16. 1698.

Last Monday a person sent me word that he had a letter to deliver to me which had been given him under the seal of confession. I hesitated a moment to receive it, pretty well guessing what might be its contents; but at length I said that he might give it me; and it was my impression that I ought to read it, for the reasons which I shall have the honour to state to your Majesty when I have related the fact. The person to whom it was entrusted, entered my room and delivered it to me.

The subjoined copy of the said letter will show your Majesty what is the matter in question.

The bearer, whom I interrogated, told me that he did not know the contents of the letter; in fine, not thinking it proper to have him arrested, because he could always clear himself by saying that he did not know the import of the letter of which he was the bearer, and, feeling that if he did not leave my house, his accomplices, if he had any, would escape, I contented myself with telling him that he was a wretch, and forbad him ever again to appear before me, or to come near my house.

However, five reasons made me determine on sending it to the king of England, who had set out for Newmarket. I therefore inclosed it, with a note to Mr. Vernon, requesting him to forward it. Your Majesty will likewise find annexed, a copy of my letter, and I have only the honour of informing you of what induced me to take this step.

In the first place, to execute your orders, which are to persuade the king of England of the sincerity of your intentions towards him.

Secondly, the horror which must be felt at such proposals.

Thirdly, because it might be a trap; for the conclusion of the letter, where this man asks me for an explanation, is of this nature.

Fourthly, because the king of England, having entered, as he begins to do, on the subject of the Spanish succession, your Majesty is interested in its preservation; for when you are both agreed on the

partition of the dominions of his Catholic Majesty, and when England, which governs the elector of Bavaria, and the friends whom he has in Germany, shall join the power of your Majesty, to support the treaty which you shall make, the execution is indubitable, and the Emperor can no longer oppose it. Thus your Majesty, without again having recourse to arms, will see the happy termination of the only affair which can disturb the tranquillity of your subjects, and of all Europe, and this, with making one of your grandsons king of Spain, and adding perhaps Luxemburg and Lorraine to your dominions,—the most desirable events which can happen. The first article is certain, the other is not impossible.

The fifth and last reason is, that by the steps which I have taken, I prove that all the enterprises which may be formed in this country, cannot in any manner be attributed to France; that if I received this letter, it was that having already two or three times seen persons hovering about me, with the evident desire of speaking to me, I believed it to be for your Majesty's service to prove to the king of England, by deed, that he ought not to mistrust us.

Yesterday Lord Romney* came to see me on the part of his Majesty, and to give me all sorts of

* Henry Sydney, younger son of Robert, Earl of Leicester, and younger brother of Algernon Sydney, was created Baron of Milton, and Viscount Sydney, 1689; and Earl of Romney, 1694.

thanks. I told him that the king, his master, was by no means obliged to me for having done my duty in executing the orders of your Majesty: that when I should have the honour of seeing him, I would tell him how the letter, which I had sent him, had been delivered to me; and, that I would give him all the information which might assist him in discovering who had written it; that I was sorry that such an idea should come into the head of a Frenchman, but that the kingdom was so large, that it was impossible there should not be some madmen in it.

I have ascertained that he who delivered this letter to me is d' Ovilliers, a Carmelite friar of the Rue des Billettes.* I think, Sire, that I ought to denounce him to the king of England, and I shall do so, for the more Frenchmen are implicated in the affair, the more, it seems to me, ought those who have the honour to be here as your Majesty's representatives to manifest integrity in their proceedings.

If your Majesty will have the goodness to inquire what captain was cashiered during the siege of Namur, for having been at Paris instead of being in the fortress, your Majesty would do an

* "I have found out the Carmelite friar. He is, I am told, of a good family, son of the Marquis d' Ovilliers, and after having lived in great debauchery, he threw himself among the Carmes-déchaussés about ten years since, and he has been near two years in England. I have signed a warrant for taking him up this night."—*Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury. April 9. (O. S.)*

act for which much obligation would be felt here. It seems to me that I have formerly heard this story related of a captain of a regiment of infantry, who at that time bore the name of Maulevrier.

On Sunday last a rifle-barrelled pistol, loaded with balls, was found in St. James's Chapel, after the king of England had left, and it was observed that there had been two strange-looking men present who, contrary to the usual custom, had seated themselves among the ladies.

(ENCLOSURE.)

TO COUNT TALLARD.

Sir,

A French captain, who has had the misfortune to be detained a prisoner for two years in this country, takes the liberty of informing you of the motives which have led him hither, in order that if you think him capable of doing some service to the King, you will have the goodness to employ him. He begs you to read what follows in private, and to excuse him for not having affixed his name. Having been ill at Paris before the siege at Namur, where his company was, and not being yet well enough when the news of the siege arrived to take a journey to Flanders, in order to endeavour to enter the town, he wrote three letters to Monseigneur de Barbesieux*, in which he solicited him to have the goodness to give him employment in any other corps, and in any place whatever, provided that he might hope to find an opportunity of sacrificing his life in the King's service. But not having received any answer, he determined to come to this country, to strike at the chief personage; resolved to shed his blood in order to procure peace for all Europe. He was detained, however, till peace was made, and feared that he should do an ill service to the King by executing

* The Marquis of Barbesieux, son of Louvois, secretary at war.

his designs. He begs you to be pleased to employ him if he can be useful, to let him know what he is to do, to be pleased to keep the secret, and to believe, &c., &c.

COUNT TALLARD TO THE KING OF ENGLAND.

Sire,

I send your Majesty a letter which was put into my hands half an hour ago.

I am full of horror at the wretch who believes that war can authorise the detestable action which he has a desire to perform, and who doubts whether peace should dispel these abominable sentiments.

I lose not a moment in transmitting this letter to Mr. Vernon to be forwarded to your Majesty.

I know too well the injury I should do myself with the king, my master, were I to defer one moment fulfilling my duty on this head, and I venture to flatter myself that your Majesty thinks well enough of me not to doubt of my sentiments.

I hope that the indication which the writer gives of having been a prisoner here may lead to the means of finding him out. No man in existence desires more ardently than myself the continuance of a life so precious as that of your Majesty. I am, &c., &c.

LOUIS XIV. TO COUNT TALLARD.

Versailles, April 17. 1698.

Sir,

I have received your letter of the 11th of this month. You could not make a better beginning towards the execution of my orders than by inducing the king of England to enter into explanations with you so freely as he has done respecting what he believes may ensure the peace of Europe, in the event of the death of the king of

Spain. His answer is, indeed, very far from the project which I sent to you, but it is not impossible to find a medium between my sentiments and those of that prince, and to form, on that foundation, a certain plan of what should be done, in case of such an event, to preserve the peace.

He has considered what you said to him as a first proposal, and I look upon his answer to you in the same light. We must therefore examine whether expedients cannot be found to reconcile the difference of my sentiments and those of the king of England. It is certain that every expedient which will be proposed will be to the prejudice of the legitimate rights of my son, and of the princes his children; that consequently, all that I shall give up will be purely the effect of my desire to remove from Europe every cause of jealousy, and to secure its tranquillity. I am, however, ready to reply to the two proposals which the king of England has made to you. The first was to raise the electoral prince of Bavaria to the throne of Spain; the second to place one of my grandsons upon it, partitioning the monarchy.

You will inform the king of England that you have communicated these two proposals to me; that he may see, from the overtures which I have made to him, that I sincerely desire to preserve peace, and that it had seemed to me that no more certain means could be proposed than to abandon, as I offered to do, all the pretensions which my son had a right to make to the Spanish succession; that one of the princes, his sons, educated by

Spaniards alone, and at an age susceptible of all the maxims which they chose to instil into him, ought not to give any umbrage to the rest of Europe; that the Spanish government would not be changed, and that, in doing justice to the legitimate heir, that monarchy would always be guided by the same interest and the same maxims which it has hitherto followed; still, that I have not come to so firm a determination upon the first project which I have formed, as to hinder me from examining those which he has communicated to you; that with regard to this first proposal, he may easily understand that it would not be just to ask from me, in favour of the electoral prince of Bavaria, what I would do for one of my grandsons; and, that if my son, solely with a view to the good of Europe, transferred to the Electoral Prince his right to the kingdom of Spain and the other parts of that monarchy, he would justly claim to retain at least some portion of that succession; that thus I am ready to propose an alternative, agreeably to the project of the king of England, to leave to that prince the choice of the proposal which he shall think the most conformable to the designs which both he and I entertain, to preserve the general peace, and to secure its continuance by a conditional treaty with him, which shall come into operation only on the demise of his Catholic Majesty.

The first part of this alternative would be to cede to the Electoral Prince, Spain, the Indies, the Low Countries, the islands of Majorca and Minorca, Sardinia, the Philippines, and the other

countries and places at present dependent on that monarchy, with the exception of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, and the duchy of Luxemburg, which my son would retain as a compensation for the rights which belong to him; and, since the king of England would wish, as it appears, that the Emperor should also have some share in this succession, it might be agreed to give the duchy of Milan to the Archduke.

The second part of the alternative would be to give to one of my grandsons all that now belongs to the Spanish monarchy, which is not comprehended in the following exceptions, viz: for the Electoral Prince, the Low Countries, as they are now possessed by his Catholic Majesty; for the Archduke, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and the places on the coast of Tuscany; lastly, Milan for the duke of Savoy.

According to the second part of the alternative, the Spanish monarchy would be divided among the legitimate heirs and those who are called to the succession by the will of Philip IV.

It is easy to foresee the principal objection which the king of England may make to this project. He will say to the first part of the alternative that the Dutch, who already complain that their barrier is too weak in the Netherlands, would be still more alarmed if the duchy of Luxemburg were united to my crown; that the interest of that republic being one of the rules which he must follow, he cannot agree to a project which he believes to be so opposed to it.

You may reply to this objection, that the Netherlands, being retained by the electoral prince of Bavaria, would be in the hands of a powerful prince if he became king of Spain; that in that case, it would be very important to me to secure the frontier of my kingdom; that this would be the only use which I should make of the duchy of Luxemburg; and lastly, that it must not seem surprising that I ask it for the safety of the provinces of my kingdom, when I sacrifice to that of Europe so many considerable advantages belonging to my children.

With respect to the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, the king of England will object, that the fortresses of those countries, if in my hands, will make me master of the commerce of the Mediterranean. In this case you may intimate to him, as of yourself, that it would be so difficult to maintain those kingdoms in union with my crown, that the necessary expenses of sending succours to them would be so great, and that formerly it had cost France so much to keep them in obedience, that I should very probably appoint a king to govern them, and that perhaps they might be the portion of one of my grandsons, who would choose to reign independently. But you will say nothing positive on this subject, as if you had received my instructions. Lastly, if the answers which you shall make to the objections of the king of England do not satisfy him, he will be at liberty to prefer the second part of the alternative to the first.

"According to what that prince said to you, one

of the principal difficulties will be on the extension of the barrier to the Netherlands, which he demands. I cannot accede to it in any way whatsoever. You will therefore declare on this subject, that it is also for my interest, and for the safety of the frontiers of my kingdom, to have a barrier; that I cannot cede any of the fortresses which I possess, without breaking the barrier which I now have; that not only are the fortresses of his Catholic Majesty in the Netherlands very strong and very good, but the country may even be said to be naturally fortified by the rivers and canals by which it is traversed; that the barrier, such as it is at present, appeared sufficient to the States General, since it was by the treaty of Nimeguen that it was agreed upon; that, far from having been weakened since that treaty, the fortresses of Namur and Mons have been considerably augmented; that the late treaty of Ryswick has confirmed what was done at Nimeguen in this respect, and that on these two occasions the Dutch have found the barrier sufficient; that it may be easily judged, by what I do to secure the repose of Europe, that it will never be my intention to disturb the elector of Bavaria in the possession of the Netherlands, if he should ever obtain them, but that, even if affairs should change, the support of England and Holland will always give him sufficient succour to maintain his ground, and that it is essential to the interests of my kingdom to have at all times a barrier on the side of the Nether-

lands. In fine, I repeat to you that I cannot listen to any proposal in regard to this article.

The second demand, of which the king of England has already spoken, is that respecting the security of the commerce in the Mediterranean, and does not mention that of the Indies, for he touched so slightly upon it, as you state in your letter that it is better not to refer to it.

If this prince would be content with treaties for the security of the trade in the Mediterranean, all the assurances which he should himself deem necessary on this subject might be given him, and I would engage to take such steps as he should judge advisable to induce the Spaniards to renew those treaties which they may already have with England; I will also consent to make new ones for the benefit of commerce. But if the treaties are not sufficient for him, and he demands places of safety in the Mediterranean, you will show him that it must seem extraordinary that England, which does not pretend to any right to the Spanish succession, should desire to have a share of the states dependent on that monarchy. If, however, he persists in this demand, you must ascertain what are the places which he desires for the security of the commerce of the English and Dutch in the Mediterranean, and if he reduces his demand only to the places situated on the coast of Africa, without requiring any of those which are on the continent of Spain, I would consent to promise them.

With respect to the Indies, as he has not yet

spoken positively on that subject, I presume that he already foresees the opposition which I should make; and the only instructions which I have to give you on this article is, to let him know, if he speaks to you about it, that I have not informed you of my intentions, but that it is easy to comprehend that the kingdom of Spain, stript of the Indies, would be too inconsiderable, and that the king of Spain could never call himself master of that part of the new world, if he shared it in any way with the English and the Dutch. If the king of England does not speak to you on this article, you will also observe silence respecting it.

It is not my intention to insist strongly on what I have placed in the second part of the alternative, respecting the cession of Milan to the duke of Savoy. I would consent, if this were the only difficulty likely to prevent the acceptance of the other articles, to cede also the state of Milan to the Archduke, but this overture must not be made till the negotiation is more advanced; and you will inform the king of England, that, as the Emperor has for some time past manifested the designs which he is forming in Italy, it seems to me that nothing would be more calculated to promote their success than to give to his son all the states which the king of Spain possesses in Italy; that in this view I believe that the only means to frustrate these designs will be, to oppose to him a prince whose power may counterbalance that of the Emperor; and that this can be done only by rendering that of the duke of Savoy more considerable; that,

however, you will give me an account of the different views which the king of England may entertain on this subject.

Lastly, if that prince requires that I should assure him that, in no case whatever, the Spanish monarchy shall ever be united to my crown, you will tell him that I have not given you any positive instructions on this subject; that, nevertheless, you are persuaded that I shall readily give this assurance, provided the Emperor gives a similar one that the states of Italy, which will be given to the Archduke, shall never be united to the Imperial crown.

The king of England has communicated to Lord Portland everything that passed in your audience, and that ambassador has asked an audience of me, to know my intention respecting the proposals of the King his master. I shall give it him tomorrow, and shall speak conformably to what I write to you on the alternative. I shall tell him that I have given you instructions to inform the king of England of it, and it appears to me much more to the purpose that the negotiation should be carried on between that prince and you. It is with this view that, before giving him an audience, I thought fit to despatch a courier to you. I see, by the result, that the king of England explains his sentiments much more fully when he is himself addressed, than through his ambassador.

I approve of the reply you made regarding the uneasiness which the king of England expressed to you on the subject of King James's residence at

St. Germains. Even supposing that prince to have designs, which he has not, it is much more easy for me to counteract them when he is near me, than if he were at a distance. Should the king of England again speak with you upon this subject, you will answer him as you have already done, and will inform me of what he has said to you.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Newmarket, $\frac{10}{20}$ April, 1698.

Three days ago I received your letters of the 16th, which I have not answered before, thinking that I should have others of a later date, after you had been at Court and had spoken to the ministers; but not having received any, though I expect them every moment, I will no longer delay writing to you. With regard to the important affair, I have nothing at present to add to what I have stated in my preceding letters, and must wait to hear what has been said to you. Probably, on my return to Kensington, Count Tallard will not fail to speak to me on the subject.

I shall, doubtless, learn from your first letter the time which you will have fixed to obtain your audience of leave, and I assure you that it is impossible to be more impatient than I am for your return. I have not enjoyed myself in the least since I came here: the weather has been bad, and I have not

been very well, having lost my appetite, and being very feeble.

THE EARL OF PORTLAND TO WILLIAM III.

Paris, April 20. 1698.

I went to Versailles the day before yesterday, in the morning, to attend the King's levee. I had my audience as soon as he entered his cabinet, and I told him that I had received letters from your Majesty, informing me of what had passed with Count Tallard, and what your Majesty had ordered me to say. Upon this the King replied, that, having considered what your Majesty had said to his ambassador, he had already sent him instructions in what manner he should answer, and what his Majesty proposed; that his design was to go thoroughly with me into the subject, and his wish that I should write about it to your Majesty. He then drew a paper from his pocket, of which I send your Majesty a copy.* He read it, and told me that it was the same as that which he had sent to Count Tallard: that, as I had said that proposals from your Majesty could hardly be expected, since it was a delicate matter, I could not

* This copy has not been found among the Portland papers, but we are able to supply the deficiency by a document, which, if it be not the original (which is a matter of doubt), is at all events of precisely the same import.

expect that he would give me any, since he spoke to me as a private individual, and as your Majesty had spoken to his ambassador, and in order that I might fix it in my recollection, he would read it to me a second time. I observed to the King that, in both the alternatives, the interests, both of England and Holland, were forgotten, and that no mention was made of commerce or of its safety. He said that his meaning was, that the parties should agree and make treaties on that subject. I said that, besides the treaties, prudence required us to demand something that would give us more security for future times than mere documents; that there were places in the Indies as well as in the Mediterranean which would suit the English and Dutch, and which might serve for that purpose. His Majesty answered, that, as we had no right, which we were called upon to renounce, we had no legal claim as others had; that, however, they would listen to what your Majesty should think fit to demand. I said that I had had the honour to tell him before, in part, what I knew of a certainty to be the sentiments of your Majesty. I also spoke to him of the insufficiency of the barrier to the Low Countries; that your Majesty had expected that it would be replaced nearly on the same footing as by the peace of the Pyrenees, and that, for the interests of England, it was necessary to restore Dunkirk. This latter point was listened to with some surprise. After this the King gave the memoir to the Marquis de Torcy, who was at the other end of the cabinet, and told him that he might read the paper to me at his lei-

sure, in order that I might recollect all that it contained.

I then asked the King if his orders were likely to detain me much longer here, since his ambassador was with your Majesty, and on a footing with which he appeared to be satisfied, and that he could communicate the sentiments of his Majesty to the king, my master, and forward or conclude the business that had been begun; and that, unless he desired to detain me longer, I should apply to your Majesty for permission to return to England, where my duty and private affairs required my presence; but that I should always be ready to postpone this last consideration to his good pleasure and to his orders. His Majesty replied in the most obliging manner that your Majesty could never send him a person in whom he had more confidence or who could be more agreeable to him; that he wished I could stop longer; and that there had never been an ambassador for whom he had a greater personal esteem; and many other obliging expressions, which I cannot venture to repeat. In the whole conversation, which lasted above half an hour, he did me the honour to speak to me as a private individual, with an obliging freedom and familiarity, often laughing, and quite throwing aside the gravity which is usual on such occasions. He concluded by saying that matters being in such a train, he would not wish that the service of your Majesty should suffer by my prolonged absence, nor that I should prejudice my private affairs; that, therefore, I might ask your Majesty's permission to

return, if I thought it necessary, as it was his wish, that I should be fully persuaded of his sentiments towards me, which he again repeated in terms more obliging than even before. Having thanked him with all possible gratitude, I withdrew, and went home with MM. de Pomponne and De Torcy, who read the memoir over to me, and which I wrote down word for word while M. de Torcy was reading it.

As far as I can judge, they expect that your Majesty shall ask what concerns the interests of England and Holland; for in my preceding audiences the King entered into the particulars of the interests of the two nations, after I had told him, and it was agreed, that your Majesty could not desist from it in any manner. I shall wait for your Majesty's orders for the time of my return. I told the King that, if he would permit, I should remain here a few days in order to view the environs of Paris at leisure, after I had had my audience of leave, which his Majesty approved, telling me that, as long as I should be here, he would always speak to me with the same confidence as heretofore, and that I might tell him the sentiments of your Majesty as I was then doing.

When I had finished at Versailles I went with the Marquis de Torcy to the rendezvous, and after the chase I supped with the Dauphin at Meudon, and then returned to Paris.

On my arrival here M. le Grand sent me word that he had heard that I intended to give some

horses to the King, and, that if such were the case, he begged that the affair might pass through his hands. I answered him that I had not the intention of doing so, nor the presumption of making him a present, and that I would not expose myself to the suspicion of seeking a larger present in return; that if he wished to accept one of my horses for the King I should be much honoured and very glad; and that he might mount them all to try them. This he did, and took one, which he presented to the King. In return, he has given me, from the King's stud, a barb, of which the Algerines made him a present, and which seems to me to be good. He is handsome, tall, young, one of the strongest I ever had, and excellent for breeding.

MEMORANDUM.

Although the reply which the king of England has made to Count Tallard is very different from the proposal which was sent to him by his Majesty, it may nevertheless be regarded as the first basis of a treaty, and we may examine what is suitable to the interests of his Majesty to reconcile his proposal with that of the king of England.

In the first place, the extension of the barrier cannot be admitted under any consideration whatever.

Secondly, it is for the interest of France, and of the rest of Europe, to hinder the English and

the Dutch from becoming the sole masters of the commerce of the Indies, as would soon be the case if they obtained the places which they demand in the new world.

Thirdly, it seems, that for the security of the commerce of the Mediterranean, we might examine what places the king of England would require.

Laying down these three articles as a basis, the King might order Count Tallard to follow the views of the king of England to answer him conformably to what he has proposed.

He has mentioned, first of all, the electoral prince of Bavaria as successor to the king of Spain; and, in the second proposal, he has proposed one of the sons of the Dauphin, partitioning the monarchy.

Count Tallard might therefore say to the king of England, that as the King has no other desire than that of maintaining the peace of Europe, and gives sufficient proof of it, by the overture which his Majesty has made to that prince, on the subject of the Spanish succession, he is willing to continue to examine, with him, what may be done for the preservation of the general tranquillity, and even to secure it by an eventual treaty with the king of England, in order that it may not be interrupted in the event of the demise of his Catholic Majesty; that though the right incontestably belongs to the Dauphin, and though no greater proof of moderation can be asked than to transfer it to one of the princes, his sons, his Majesty is, nevertheless, willing to enter

into the discussion of the two proposals of which the king of England has spoken.

With respect to the first, it would not be just that the electoral prince of Bavaria, whose right is second to that of the princes of France, should obtain the whole succession, to the prejudice of the lawful heirs. If, however, it be thought that the peace of Europe would be more easily preserved by raising him to the Spanish throne, his Majesty might consent, upon the following conditions: that Spain, the Indies, the Low Countries, the islands of Majorca and Minorca, Sardinia, and the Philippines, should remain united to the kingdom of Spain; that the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily and the duchy of Luxemburg should be separated from it and ceded to his Majesty; and that the duchy of Milan should be assigned to the Archduke.

With respect to the second proposal, the whole of the kingdom of Spain and the Indies would be given to one of the sons of the Dauphin, with the islands of Majorca and Minorca, the kingdom of Sardinia and the Philippines; the Low Countries, as now possessed by his Catholic Majesty, to the electoral prince of Bavaria; the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily and the towns on the coast of Tuscany to the Archduke; and Milan to the duke of Savoy. In this manner the whole Spanish monarchy would be divided between the lawful heirs, and those who are instituted heirs by the will of Philip IV.

And, to give to the English and Dutch places of security for the trade of the Mediterranean, the

towns on the coast of Africa might be assigned to them.

The King's letter will state more fully the just reasons which hinder his Majesty from consenting to the extension of the barrier on the side of the Netherlands, and for giving places of security in the Indies.

It may be further added, that if the king of England requires an assurance that the Spanish monarchy shall never be united to the crown of France, Count Tallard may say that he is persuaded that his Majesty will be easily induced to give such an assurance, provided that a similar one be given that the states of Italy possessed by the Archduke shall never be united to the Imperial crown.

We might also desist from the demand of Milan for the duke of Savoy, and consent that that state should be given to the Archduke.

THE EARL OF PORTLAND TO MR. VERNON.

Paris, April 21. 1698.

Sir,

The person whom I send to you came to me yesterday morning, and desired to speak with me in private. He told me that he had a disclosure to make which was of the greatest importance to the king, my master.* After what has already

* The name of this man was Davis, and the disclosures he promised to make were probably only a pretext for extorting

passed, and what I have written to you, you may easily imagine that it was not difficult for me to guess of what nature the subject was, and my impatience to hear it; but he would not disclose himself unless he was promised his pardon for having borne arms here, for himself, as well as for his brother and two little children, and 5000*l.* sterling paid down in money, and 500*l.* a year more, for himself and his heirs. I made all kinds of difficulty, as you may believe; to which he answered, that unless he received this positive promise he would do nothing; but that he engaged to go to England, where he would disclose and prove the most horrible and dangerous treason against the King, the persons who were at work upon it, and even the people of quality who were engaged in it; and that, if he did not perform all this, he would renounce every claim, and be content to be exposed and given up to the rigour of the law. Hereupon it seemed to me that I could not hesitate to give him my word on the part of the King: the more so, since he assured me that no time was to be lost. After he had told me, what he will repeat to you, I agreed with him that

money from lord Portland. On the eve of his departure, he disappeared, as will be seen hereafter, and this letter to Mr. Vernon, and the following one directed to the King, of both of which there are copies among the Portland papers, were not sent. But perhaps this Davis was apprehended by the order of the French government, and placed in confinement, as were all the Jacobite agents suspected by their employers of being traitors.

I would send him to England, and address him to you, Sir: he will tell you the whole, that you may assist him in carrying his designs into execution, and prevent the evil which threatens us, by following his directions.

After having written thus far, I received yours of the 6th, which confirms me in the resolution which I have taken to send this man to England without losing a moment's time. God grant that he may be of use as he has proposed, and that their wicked designs may be discovered! There is another thing which has happened here, and which indicates what we may expect from those desperate people. I had taken steps to gain over Crosby*, whose name you know: he was resolved to go to England and to serve the King, by denouncing the ill disposed persons, all of whom he knows better than any body. I do not know whether he had the imprudence to say something which caused him to be suspected, but I have this moment been told that he was assassinated in the street two

* Crosby was one of the most active agents of the Jacobites; he carried on during many years an extensive correspondence with King James's secret friends in England, and had been implicated in Fenwick's conspiracy. His name frequently occurs in Macpherson's Original Papers. It does not appear that he was ever suspected of being a traitor to his employers, and there is no proof that he was assassinated for this cause. His murder is barely mentioned in the same papers, on account of the great alarm felt by lord Middleton that some letters might be found about his person, which would involve the Court of St. Germains in trouble, if they fell into improper hands.

hours ago, by another Englishman, who made his escape.

I suspected at length that this Mrs. Hansard* was a liar, when she would not discover these people, though at first, when it did not appear that she was interested, I did not suspect her. I confess that this conduct of the ambassador of France is extraordinary and incomprehensible. Assuredly we cannot be too much upon our guard; but we do not know where to begin. I will do all I possibly can to endeavour to gain over people, in order to discover the plots; and this is one of the reasons why I could have wished that my successor should have been here before my departure, that I might make him acquainted with my correspondents, who otherwise would be reluctant to trust any other person.

I write to the King all about this, only in general terms, since you will show him this letter. I beg you to keep it a great secret that I had gained over Crosby, for if it became public, the Jacobites might suspect the person whom I have employed.

* During the whole of King William's reign, constant plots were manufactured for the purpose of extracting rewards from the government on their pretended discovery. Many details relating to this Mrs. Hansard, her disclosures, and her examination before the lords of the Cabinet Council, are to be found in the *letters of Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury.*

THE EARL OF PORTLAND TO WILLIAM III.

Paris, April 21. 1698.

I send back to England the adjutant of the guards, on a matter of which your Majesty will already have been informed by Mr. Vernon, and will be yet farther informed by what I write by this express. I send a man to whom I have been obliged to promise much, but on condition that he shall not receive his reward till after he shall have performed his services.

The letters of the 6th, which have just arrived, have fully confirmed me in the promise I have resolved to make, in consequence of all the information which I received here respecting the wicked designs of those accursed and desperate persons, whom, may God confound, and discover! I beg your Majesty to believe that I suffer a thousand terrors respecting what this man, who is an officer in the service here, may do; and I trust that he may arrive in safety, since I see here a number of desperate characters, with which this city is full, ever since several English regiments have been disbanded.

COUNT TALLARD TO THE MARQUIS DE TORCY.

London, April 22. 1698.

I did not receive till yesterday morning, at 8 o'clock, the letter which the King did me the honour to write to me on the 17th of this month. The

remainder of the day was passed in deciphering it. I set out this morning for Newmarket, according to your orders. My journey will make much noise, but the King has foreseen it, and commands it; it is my duty only to obey. I must confess, however, that unless it had been known in this country that the king of Spain is better, I should have had some difficulty in determining upon it, for it would have made people talk too much.

Parliament has granted the tax on coals, which causes great clamour among the lower classes: it is not known whether it will pass, but it is believed that it will.* There is another measure which has made more noise.

It has been unanimously resolved in the House of Commons to confirm all the grants which individuals hold by the liberality of the sovereigns, obliging those who enjoy them to pay one fourth of their value. This measure will go back to those grants which were made in 1660. The two parties have agreed on this point; that is to say, the Court party, at the head of which is Montague, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the country party, of which Seymour is the head. This has surprised every body, and it is thought that they intended to deceive each other: the first thinking to render the execu-

* "Sir Thomas Littleton reported this day the resolution of the Committee about the duty upon coals. The first of them held a pretty long debate, and the House divided upon it, but it was carried by 144 against 123, then the rest of the resolutions passed without opposition." *Mr. Vernon to the King, April 7.* (*O. S.*)—The duty upon coals was not a new tax; it was only continued for five years.

tion of the bill impossible, in revoking what has been granted so long ago; the others believing that those articles in which some difficulties should be found would be left untouched, and that they would begin by demanding payment on those grants which are the clearest; that is to say, those which have been made during this reign.*

A Frenchman named Bussy † has been arrested,

* The opposition had soon revived the plan of resuming the grants, though not in its full latitude, for now it was only proposed to apply the fourth part of their value to the service of the public. But one party having insisted on beginning with the grants of King Charles II. and King James II. the persons affected by that proceeding joined themselves with those affected by the like proceeding against the grants of King William; in consequence of which concert, so many petitions were presented and so many difficulties were raised, that it became no very difficult task to set aside both.

† "I know not whether your Majesty ever heard of one de Bussy, a Frenchman, who married my lord Newbury's mother: he was afterwards a captain in my lord Macclesfield's regiment of horse, and having been a busy French papist, he left the kingdom at the Revolution, and is now lately come over again. Great notice has been taken of his being here, and I have taken him up upon suspicion of treason, and he is now in the custody of a messenger. It is supposed he is a denizen, but without reason. I think I should be justifiable if I took up all the French papists now in England, since their ambassador owns there is an assassin among them, and does not think fit to declare who he is." *Mr. Vernon to the King, April* 7. (*O. S.*) —Bussy was committed to Newgate a few days after for high treason. He was, says Mr. Vernon in another letter, "the great companion in his lewdness of the Carmelite Friar," who brought the letter to Count Tallard, and could not be arrested. Mr. Vernon had also signed a warrant for apprehending four other French Carmelite Friars.

on account of some affairs of five or six years' standing, which concern the government, by whom he is vehemently suspected.

A female of some rank (Mrs. Hansard) has declared that the pistol which was found in St. James' Chapel, five days ago, was brought there by a man who intended to make use of it against the King's person. She added, that she hindered him from doing so; that she knows him, but that she loves him, and will not reveal his name till she has the promise of his pardon. This is a very strange business.

LOUIS XIV. TO COUNT TALLARD.

Marly, April 23. 1698.

I have received your letter of the 16th of this month, and I have minutely examined the line of conduct which you had to follow in the conjuncture of which you inform me.

It is certain that you ought to act in such a manner that the king of England might be persuaded that I desire to keep up a perfect understanding with him; that the least exertion which he can expect is, that you should inform him of a plot against his person, when you have knowledge of it. I am, therefore, very far from disapproving, in the main, of what you have done; but I could have wished that the manner in which you gave the information had been different. There appears to me to have been too great

eagerness on your part, in writing yourself to the king of England on an affair so very obscure. It should not be supposed that, even in time of war, any one has dared to make proposals to me which excite so much horror. I cannot imagine that any person will believe it; and yet it is not impossible that the step which you have taken may be considered affected, and with a view to persuade the king of England of the sincerity of my intentions.

It is not on this occasion that he must be made to perceive that my intentions are such as I have promised him, since I was actuated by the same motives when I was his enemy, and would do the like if the war continued.* I could, therefore, have wished, that instead of writing to the prince him-

* If Louis XIV., or his ministers, had been sincere, they would perhaps not have been able to deny all participation in, or at least connivance at the project of killing King William, constantly entertained by the Court of St. Germains, or its agents in England; and it would be a very difficult thing to prove that they did not at least lend an ear to that execrable design. It is plain that on this occasion Louis XIV. does not speak of it with the indignation which it deserved. One cannot forget that the commission of King James to C. (Crosby or Charnock?) printed, though very inaccurately, by Mr. Mazure, authorising and requiring that individual "to seize and secure the person of the Prince of Orange, and to bring him before us," a language, as Mr. Hallam remarks, nothing else than an euphemism for assassination, was found in the papers of the then secretary for foreign affairs, M. de Croissy.—However, it must be acknowledged that the sentiments expressed by Louis XIV. in this letter, were in the main correct, and his fears not without foundation, for the conduct of Count Tallard, in this delicate conjuncture, was not regarded by the English government as in justice it ought to have been.

self, you had merely sent to the Secretary of State the letter which you had received, with the remark that you were persuaded that the person who wrote it was labouring under some mental delusion, but that the life of the king of England is so precious that every thing that concerns it must appear important.

It would even have been useless, on this occasion, to speak of my sentiments towards the King; it was sufficient merely to give the information in the manner I have indicated. It is to be feared that the eclat which you have made may lead to fresh applications on the subject of residence of King James at St. Germains, or perhaps that it may afford a pretext to the king of England to annoy the Roman Catholics in his kingdom, especially if you have denounced the person who delivered this letter. I wish you may have changed the resolution which you had formed to name him; and you are to conceal his name, if you have not already divulged it when you receive this despatch. There is a strong appearance that he did not know the contents of the letter which he delivered to you, and what you have said may cause an irreparable prejudice to the missions.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Newmarket, April $\frac{13.}{23.}$ 1698.

I do not believe that Denmark seriously thinks of engaging itself any further, or of making an alliance with us. I do not see in what manner the numerous objections could be obviated which Link has made to you on the question of the project. You will, however, be better able to judge after another conference with him. I very willingly consent to ally myself more closely with Sweden. I have already said so to Bonde. Be so good on your part as to accelerate the affair as much as you possibly can. Time presses; and the more so, as it might perhaps be a means of preventing the alliance with France.

According to the last letters I have received here from the Earl of Portland, he had an audience of the king of France, who, on being informed of the conversation I had had with Tallard, gave me to understand that it would be reasonable to satisfy the Emperor in Italy, and to increase the barrier of the Spanish Netherlands. This is farther than I thought the French would have advanced at first. The Earl of Portland was to have another audience the next day, and thought he should then be able to communicate more particulars, which I hourly expect. Count Tallard has also arrived here to-day, probably to speak with me, of which I will inform you by the next post.

P.S. — Since I wrote the above, Count Tallard has

been with me, and after a long preface, said that, in consequence of what he had written to his court, relative to the conversation he had had with me, he had received orders to propose two alternatives, on the subject of a treaty and alliance, to be entered into in the event of the king of Spain's death. The one is to the effect that the elector of Bavaria's son should succeed to the kingdom of Spain, with the West Indies and the Spanish Netherlands in their present condition, except the duchy of Luxemburg, which should be assigned to France; the Emperor should have Milan; and one of the Dauphin's sons the kingdom of Naples and Sicily and the islands. The other alternative is to the effect that the kingdom of Spain and the West Indies should be ceded to one of the Dauphin's sons; the kingdom of Naples, Sicily, and the islands to the Emperor; Milan to the duke of Savoy; and the Spanish Netherlands, in their present condition, to the Elector's son. If this alternative were adopted, we might expect some ports in the Mediterranean, and also some islands in the West Indies; but (this he said in a conversational tone) France would not consent to any cession on the Continent, nor to any extension of the barrier in the Spanish Netherlands. To all this I answered, that, considering the great importance and delicacy of the matter, he must not think it strange that I was not prepared to make any reply to his proposals. This, he said, he could very well conceive, and did not expect any. I insinuated, but only by way of conversation, how necessary it was to our security that the

barrier in the Spanish Netherlands should be increased; but to this he absolutely turned a deaf ear. I also laughed with him at the idea of giving Milan to the duke of Savoy. My own opinion is, that if either one or the other alternative were accepted, the French would not remain firm to it. I confess I had no idea they would have advanced so far, nor have offered so much in these times. You will be so good as to turn your thoughts to this important negotiation, and, as soon as you can, let me know your sentiments how I should act further. I have no doubt but the same proposals have been made to the Earl of Portland, but they will probably have given time to Count Tallard to communicate them to me first.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Newmarket, April 14—24. 1698.

The day after that on which I wrote to you from this place I received your letter of the 16th, and yesterday evening that of the 20th. Count Tallard had come to see me in the morning, and had made me the same proposal of the two alternatives which the Most Christian King made to you, and of which you sent me the draft. I replied, that he might believe that I could not give any immediate answer on so important and delicate an affair, and that it deserved very serious consideration. Then, in conversing on the subject,

I told him that I did not see any proposal in the alternative, that Spain should belong to the son of the Dauphin, which would secure our trade in the Mediterranean and the Indies, and that unless we had some seaports there we could not have any security, as I had told him in our first conversation. I named Port Mahon, Ceuta, and Oran, to which he answered that he had no particular instructions on that point, but that he believed that expedients might be formed with reference to it, as well as that we might have some ports in the West India Islands, but not on the continent, since in that case we should be entirely masters of the Indies. I afterwards said that with respect to the barrier of the Netherlands, I had told him that it must be stronger and more extensive, on which he entered into a long detail of the situation of the country and of the frontier, which led to a rather lengthened discussion; but he replied pretty plainly, that I must not think that the king, his master, could consent to the extension of the barrier; and when I mentioned Dunkirk, he rejected the idea, as if I were making game of him. I remarked, however, in conclusion, that I did not see any appearance of an accommodation, unless the barrier were extended, and, on the other alternative, that it was a mockery to cede Milan to the duke of Savoy, to which he agreed, and said, that the only reason was that the Emperor might not be too strong in Italy. I believe that if the whole arrangement depended on that article, the affair would soon be terminated, and France would agree

to cede Milan to the Emperor. I confess that I am surprised at the offers which they make, and that they are so open in this conjuncture, which we should well consider and see what course we shall take. You may imagine that this must embarrass me not a little, since it is certain that we shall never get the Emperor willingly to consent to either of the two alternatives. That which appears to me the most advantageous to all Europe in general, is for the Electoral Prince to have Spain; but in that case England and Holland could not claim any advantage for themselves, such as to have ports in the Mediterranean and the Indies; and besides this, the barrier of the Netherlands would be so much reduced by the duchy of Luxemburg, that, in my opinion, France has certainly named it only to induce us to choose the other alternative, which is assuredly infinitely more advantageous to the Emperor, and in which we might find some advantages for our commerce; but I know not whether that is sufficient to make us hesitate between having a son of the Dauphin king of Spain and the Indies, or the son of the elector of Bavaria. If they would leave him the duchy of Luxemburg, I should not hesitate to choose this alternative; but I fear that this is not to be obtained. It would be well for you to endeavour to discover this; also what ports they would be willing to cede to us in the Mediterranean and the Indies, and likewise whether we may hope for an extension of the barrier. As for Dunkirk, I see that it is of no use thinking of it.

I shall not give Count Tallard any answer till I know the sentiments of the Pensionary; and if he speaks to me on the subject after my return to Kensington, where I mean to be, God willing, on Saturday evening, I shall tell him frankly to whom I have communicated it; as it is right that I should do nothing in an affair of this nature and importance without communication and concert with the States.

I have hitherto spoken only in general terms to my ministers of this negotiation, and do not intend doing so till it is more advanced, for reasons which I shall tell you when I see you. Thus you may judge that if matters had proceeded so far as to conclude some treaty, I should have been greatly embarrassed about sending you orders in due form, and it would have been a very delicate matter for you to sign any thing of this nature, knowing, as you do, our constitution.

I still think of going to Holland soon after the close of Parliament; but God knows when that will be. You will do well to send your horses direct to Loo: you may believe how impatient I begin to feel to be there. I have not been well since I have been here, and have had very little amusement. You may readily imagine that I do not much desire the coming of the Duchess of Portsmouth; but after the breaking up of Parliament, I do not know how to refuse it.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Newmarket, April 15—25. 1698.

By the last post I wrote you what had passed between Count Tallard and me. I have since received letters from the Earl of Portland of the 20th, together with a memorandum, containing the two alternatives, which the king of France read over in his cabinet, and after being read by M. de Pomponne and M. de Torcy, were copied word for word. You will see it to be in the very same terms which Count Tallard had communicated to me verbally, as the king of France told the Earl of Portland he had been ordered to do. I shall with great impatience expect your views as to how I ought to proceed, and what answer to give. I think much time ought not to be lost in this negotiation; for we should be greatly embarrassed in the event of the sudden death of the king of Spain. It is certain that the Emperor is not to be moved by persuasion to accept either of these alternatives, so that he must be compelled. The alternative which constitutes a French prince king of Spain is certainly the most advantageous to him; and I should think France would agree to his having, also, Milan instead of the duke of Savoy. But the other alternative, by which he is to acquire Milan alone, out of all the Spanish succession, will hardly be accepted. In my opinion, the alternative in favour of the electoral prince of Bavaria is the best adapted to the general interest of Europe; but the cession of

the duchy of Luxemburg is extremely prejudicial to our security; and France has chiefly introduced it into this alternative, I think, to incline us to the other; in which I believe, also, we should find our account in the article of commerce; for, when I told Tallard we must have some ports in the Mediterranean, and named Port Mahon, Oran, and Ceuta, he said he had no particular orders to propose any, but thought expedients might be found, as, also, in the West Indies, to give us some port in the islands, but not upon the continent, for in that case we should at once become masters of that commerce. And though, he said, there was no probability whatever of extending and increasing the barrier in the Spanish Netherlands, yet I should still hope something might be stipulated about it, in case the alternative, which gives Spain to the Dauphin's son, be accepted. I confess that, every thing considered, it is very questionable which alternative to choose, and to negotiate further thereon; but this is beyond a doubt, that when these offers of France are public in England and Holland, it will be difficult to get them to consent to a war, in case the king of Spain should happen to die now; so that measures must be taken in consequence. As for the elector of Bavaria, I think he may be brought to any thing, notwithstanding the one alternative is so much more advantageous for him and his son than the other.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, April 25. 1698.

Sire,

I arrived at Newmarket the day before yesterday, in the morning, in accordance with the instructions which I received from your Majesty, and went to the king of England's levee. I approached him when he had finished dressing, and said, that though I was afraid of having chosen an unseasonable moment, I still ventured to ask him for an audience. He said that he was engaged all the rest of the day, but that he would speak with me on his return from hunting.

Three quarters of an hour afterwards, however, a groom of the bed-chamber came to me, and told me that his Majesty expected me. I immediately went, and began by telling him that I had had the honour of giving your Majesty as accurate an account as I possibly could, of the overtures which he had made to me at the last audience he had had the goodness to grant me; and that, though your Majesty believes that nothing can be done better calculated to preserve the peace and tranquillity of Europe than to place the Spanish succession in the hands of one of the Dauphin's sons, your Majesty was not so firmly attached to your first sentiments as to decline examining what I had had the honour to communicate to you on his part; that it seemed to your Majesty, from my statement, that he had had two opinions: one, that it would be proper to place the

electoral prince of Bavaria on the throne of Spain; the other, to place on it a son of the Dauphin, with the exceptions in favour of the Archduke, and of the electoral prince of Bavaria; that after considering what he had said to me your Majesty had, with reference thereto, determined to give him the choice of two alternatives, and to secure the preservation of peace by a conditional treaty, which should have no effect except in case of the demise of the king of Spain:

The first, to give to the Electoral Prince Spain, the Indies, the islands of Majorca and Minorca, Sardinia, the Philippines, the Low Countries, and the other countries dependent on the Spanish monarchy, with the exception of Naples, Sicily, and the duchy of Luxemburg for the Dauphin; and, I added, that as it seemed to your Majesty that he wished the Archduke to have a share, you would consent that Milan should be given to him; —

The second, to give the Spanish succession to one of the sons of the Dauphin, with the exception of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and the places along the coasts of Tuscany for the Archduke; the Low Countries, in the state in which the Spaniards now possess them, to the electoral prince of Bavaria; and, lastly, Milan to the duke of Savoy.

When I named the latter he began to smile, and said nothing, except "Oh, for the duke of Savoy!" I answered, to penetrate a little deeper into his sentiments, that it was not for me to

determine whether it was through friendship that your Majesty made this proposal in favour of that prince, but that there could be no doubt that it was for the interest of every body that there should be a power, beyond the Alps, able to counterbalance that of the Archduke and of the Emperor, and check the designs which that house has so openly formed against all the princes of Italy. He replied, that he would rather give it to the duke of Mantua; and added, "As for the duke of Savoy, I did not expect to hear his name." In continuation, he said, "it would be better to give Milan to the Archduke." I replied, "Sire, it would be giving him all Italy." He answered, that your Majesty would easily hinder him from aggrandizing himself. I said that in that case the duke of Savoy must assent; because, since your Majesty had no longer any fortresses beyond the Alps, it was impossible for you to carry your arms into the plains of Piedmont. This led us into a pretty long discussion on the difficulties of entering Italy, in which there seemed to be much animosity and indignation against the duke of Savoy *, which, however, was only intimated by detached words and by gestures.

After the King had made me repeat once more the two alternatives proposed by your Majesty, he added,

* The duke of Savoy had, by a treaty signed in August 1696, abandoned the allied powers, and made a separate, and very advantageous peace with Louis XIV. This desertion, accompanied by the most treacherous circumstances, accounts easily for the animosity of King William.

that the rights of the Dauphin were well contested. I venture to say that I placed them in their full light, making him see that the states which compose the Spanish monarchy were held by marriages, and under the same circumstances; and, with respect to his assertion, that Philip IV. would not have given the Infanta to your Majesty if he had believed that the renunciation was not valid, that the Emperor himself would have opposed it, I answered that Philip IV. had given her to make peace, because it was absolutely necessary to him; that he had taken the precautions which depended upon himself to prevent the crown of Spain from ever devolving on the House of France; but that they were null and void, both by law and by precedent; that, besides, every body well knew that since the peace of Munster the Emperor had no credit at the Court of Madrid; that he had not even taken part in the war of 1667; that their union had not been renewed till 1672; and that he had not been consulted on what passed at the peace of the Pyrenees.

He then observed that by the proposals of your Majesty the barrier of the Netherlands remained in the same condition; that your Majesty held all the rivers; that the Spaniards had no longer any fortresses either on the Scheldt or on the Lys; that your Majesty might render yourself master of all that remained in one campaign; and that he foresaw that this would be a great difficulty in arranging the affairs in question. I answered, that the frontier of Flanders was much more covered by

fortresses than those of the ancient kingdom of your Majesty; that Namur might be considered as impregnable, since the late fortifications which had been added to it; that the same might justly be said of Mons. He interrupted me with the remark, that he did not know what we had done there, but that formerly he did not value that fortress. I answered, that great works had been carried on there, and that he must at least confess that the circumvallation rendered it much more difficult of attack; that he had even made Liege and Brussels fortresses, by the lines which he had constructed round them. He said, that he agreed that that side was more secure than the other; but that on the sea side your Majesty were at once in the heart of the Spanish territory. I replied, that it was also the side which was most impenetrable to us, on account of the canals, and of the great Scheldt, and that your Majesty had not a single fortress on that side which was not absolutely necessary for the safety of your kingdom; that Menin, which was regarded as the least considerable, was nevertheless highly important, because it was the only passage we had on the Lys, that was so situated as to be useful to us. He answered, that your Majesty had also La Fere behind. I replied that La Fere was on the river Oise, behind Guise.

Upon this he suddenly recollected himself; and I ended by telling him that, not to lose time in unimportant matters, I assured him that your Majesty would never entertain any proposal which tended to diminish the safety of the French frontiers

on that side; that the Dutch had marked the barrier which had been agreed upon by the treaty of Nimeguen, which secured their frontiers; that they had appeared to entertain the same sentiments at the treaty of Ryswick, and that the design which the Spaniards had formed of fortifying Courtrai was a further addition to their security.

He said, "You have Dunkirk, which was ours; it is of no use to you save to injure us." I answered, that that was so long ago that it ought to be forgotten; that during the war it had, indeed, taken many merchantmen, but that if it were in his hands it might do us much greater injury, since it was only nine leagues from that place to Calais. He said, "Have you not Gravelines between the two?" I replied, "Yes, Sire, but you would find means to send your provisions by sea, after having made your army march by land, if you had that fortress, and were ever in a condition to lay siege to the other."

He resumed, and said, that the proposals which I had made to him on the part of your Majesty were of such great consequence that it was impossible to answer them on the spot, and that he would give them the necessary consideration, but that he considered that Milan was for the Archduke. I said, that I believed your Majesty would consent to this, provided that the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily were given to the Dauphin; but that it would not be reasonable that all the states of Italy should go into the hands of the Archduke.

He then recurred to the commercial question,

and, after having shown, in a pretty long conversation, how necessary it was for the English and the Dutch to take such precautions in this change that they should not be disturbed in the future, he declared that he hoped that your Majesty would consent to their having places of security for their commerce in the Mediterranean and in the Indies. I replied, with respect to the Mediterranean, conformably to the orders which your Majesty has given me; and, seeing that he still dwelt on the subject, I said that at least he must state the places which he thought necessary, because there was so much difference between one place and another that no answer could be given without knowing the exact state of the question. He replied, that he had directed Lord Portland to inform your Majesty of his opinion on the subject, and that he believed that Port Mahon, Ceuta, and Oran, would be the ports that would suit them. I answered, that I would have the honour to inform your Majesty, on my part, and that when he made me any new proposal on which I was not informed of your views, I should content myself with receiving it without any reply, though I might have good reasons to adduce. He added, "We have yet to speak of the Indies." I told him I could not speak on that subject except from myself, because he had touched so slightly on that point in the last conversation which I had the honour to hold with him, that I had made no report of it to your Majesty, but that I saw clearly that if England and Holland had a port and a fortress on

the continent of America, the king of Spain would depopulate his dominions to work the mines, of which they would reap all the profit. However, I begged he would explain himself.

He told me that, having been brought up in Holland, he was well informed with respect to its commercial interests, but that he was not so well acquainted with those of the English, and that he would procure the necessary information upon the subject; that he thought the port of Havannah might suit them, but he would not speak positively.

He then asked me if your Majesty had any information respecting the health of the king of Spain. I replied, that your Majesty had done me the honour to write to me that on the 6th of this month he was in better health than he had yet been. I added a few circumstances communicated to me by the Marquis d'Harcourt, and, among other things, that the Prince of Darmstadt, believing the king of Spain to be dead, had changed most of the officers in the fortresses of Catalonia, and had put Germans in their place*; that such a proceeding

* "The Imperial troops had remained in Catalonia after the signing of the treaties. Though inconsiderable in number, they might be sufficient to maintain the Austrian party in Spain whenever the king should happen to die, an event which could not be very remote. . . . . The Germans were masters of Catalonia, and the prince of Darmstadt maintained himself in his vice-royalty by the Queen's authority. The king of Spain was taken ill in the month of March 1698; when they began to despair of his life. The news being brought to Catalonia, the viceroy changed all the governors of the principal towns, removing the Spanish officers, and putting Germans in their stead;

showed what might be expected from the Emperor, and demonstrated that it was time to take measures.

On this occasion he again said a word or two respecting the barrier of Flanders, to which I replied that, to remove all uncertainty that might remain upon this point, I thought it my duty to tell him, as an honest man, that there was no reason which could induce your Majesty to make any change on the frontier on that side; and that, in truth, it was not just that France, which gains nothing in all that is proposed, and whose presumptive heir cedes a portion of his rights, to remove the jealousy which Europe might entertain, should also see the safety of its provinces impaired.

As I was retiring, he called out from the fireplace, "At least, Sir, I always reckon on Milan for the Archduke!" To which I replied, that I had no change to make in what I had said to him on that subject on the part of your Majesty.

On leaving the palace, he went to the Cockfight, whither I accompanied him. He made me sit beside him. M. d'Auverquerque procured horses for me and all my suite, with a gentleman to accompany me to the races, whither the king of England repaired; and when he afterwards went hare-hunting, he himself again offered me horses

at the same time he paid the troops of his own nation, without making any payment at all to the Spaniards. The province sent a deputation to the king of Spain; but their complaints were ineffectual. Thus the Germans continued masters of Catalonia."—*Memoirs of Torcy.*

to follow him, and, on my declining with thanks, he ordered Count de Nassau to remain with me. When he retired, he sent the captain of his guards to invite me to come and sup with him. He even carried his politeness so far as to drink my health, and I can say with truth to your Majesty that nothing can exceed the courtesy with which he has treated me.

On rising from table, he took me aside into the chimney-corner, and asked me if, in either of these two alternatives, there was nothing but Milan for the Archduke. I told him there was nothing more, and, in a low voice, repeated the two alternatives at full length, concluding with that in which your Majesty proposes Milan for the duke of Savoy. He replied, "Say always for the Archduke." I reiterated all the reasons which I have employed above, and he rejoined the company, smiling, and saying, "Good! good!" These are his own terms, which I have repeated to your Majesty, that not a syllable may be omitted.

This, Sire, is a faithful narrative of all that passed. The matter begins to assume a more definite form. It appears to me, from the manner in which I spoke to him, that he must be undeceived with respect to any change on the side of Flanders, which is the most considerable article, and, to say the truth, if that is once settled, there will be nothing more to discuss, except that of the Indies. He did not recur to the proposal to leave to the Dauphin the kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Luxemburg. He insisted strongly on Milan for

the Archduke. I think it proper to remind your Majesty that, in the first overture, the king of England asked only the kingdom of Naples and Milan for that prince; that Sicily was not mentioned; so that if your Majesty yields to his views on that subject, you may except this latter kingdom, either to add it to Spain, or to make such other use of it as you may judge best calculated for your interest. Your Majesty will see better than any one else when it will be time to discuss each article more particularly, in order to arrive at the conclusion of a treaty, and it is for your interests that this discussion should take place at London or at Paris.

The following is the sequel to the letter which I had the honour to despatch to your Majesty in reference to the letter which was delivered to me by a Carmelite. Three days subsequently to the events which I had the honour to communicate to your Majesty, Lord Romney returned hither, on the part of the king of England, to tell me that as that prince would still remain for some time at Newmarket, it was to be feared that those who had designs on his person would either attempt to execute them, or would escape, and that he requested me to tell him (*i. e.* his lordship) of what I would have told himself. This I did, as I had the honour to write to your Majesty that I would, not thinking it proper to take upon myself the responsibility of what might happen during so long an interval; but I first took his positive promise that I should not be named, nor appear in any manner whatever.

THE EARL OF PORTLAND TO WILLIAM III.

Versailles, April 25. 1698.

I had the honour to receive your Majesty's letter of the 10—20th from Newmarket yesterday. It is by your answer to mine of Sunday last, 20th, that I expect to guide my conduct, because it was in that letter that I sent the proposals relative to the Spanish succession, which I received on the preceding Friday. After this I hope I shall be able to fix my return. I trust that, in consequence of your absence from London, your Majesty will not have received the proposals from the ambassador of France, before my letter has been delivered to you. Nothing has passed here since that time.

I went on Tuesday to Versailles to the King's levee, without speaking to him, except in public. In the afternoon he went to Marly, where he still remains. MONSIEUR took me on that day to Saint Cloud, to show me the place. On our arrival there he gave us a grand dinner, after which we walked about for a time in the environs of the mansion; I then accompanied him in an open calèche with some ladies who were there, and he drove me all over the park and the more distant gardens. Your Majesty would be pleased with the situation, the fine pieces of water, the beautiful views, and the great variety of the scenery. Nothing could exceed his politeness and the attention he paid me. I have not received any answer to what I took the liberty of writing to you respecting the duchess of Portsmouth, who has just given me a letter for

your Majesty. * If your Majesty does not wish the duchess of Portsmouth to come to England yet, I beg you not to charge me with the commission of telling her so, but to let some one of her friends in England write to her.

I have been cheated out of some money by one Davis, who pretended to disclose to me a conspiracy against your Majesty, and offered to go to England to prove it and to give up the accomplices, but he has disappeared; accordingly, the letters which I intended to send by the courier who was to accompany him have not been despatched.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, April 19—29. 1698.

I shall say nothing to you at present about the great affair of the Spanish succession, as I wait with impatience for your answer to my letters from Newmarket, in which I informed you of the proposals Count Tallard made me, as was also done to the Earl of Portland in France. I have learnt nothing more on this subject since, nor received any further letters from France. I must, however, just say that you must not expect I can agree to any other measures, or contribute any thing beyond what I mentioned in my last. For, agreeably to the constitution of the kingdom, it is impossible to get the Parliament to consent to

* Louise de Querouaille, created by Charles II. duchess of Portsmouth. See the Appendix.

grant any money on an uncertainty, or for a future time, so that I can do nothing on that point; and God knows whether I shall not be obliged to reduce more troops, conformably to the first idea of Parliament. Should this great negotiation go forward, I think Mr. Hop's instructions must be upon quite another footing than at first.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, April 30. 1698.

Sire,

The letter which your Majesty did me the honour to write to me on the 23d of this month was delivered to me only two hours ago. I am excessively mortified that it seems you do not approve of my conduct in the affair of which I had the honour to give you an account on the 16th of this month. I venture to say to your Majesty that I foresaw the inconveniences which you point out in your despatch; but if you please to allow me the honour to represent to you those which might ensue by acting differently from what I have done, I hope to convince you that I had good reasons for following the course which I adopted.

Only two modes of proceeding ever occurred to my mind. One, to content myself with answering, as I did, the person who brought me the letter in question, and then, to let the matter drop, which I confess I had a great mind to do; the other, to make it known, either by arresting the bearer, or sending the letter, as I did. To say nothing was

to expose myself, every moment, to be mentioned in the deposition of the first man who should be arrested and interrogated. Now, measures were taken to arrest some persons; a loaded pistol had been found on the preceding day in St. James's chapel; proofs were sought against persons suspected of having brought it there; nay, some had even been sent to prison. The individual who wrote to me might be implicated in all this, and, being arrested, might begin by saying that he had given me notice of it. In this case, what would have been said of my silence; and, even if I had not known your Majesty's sentiments on such deeds, should not this apprehension alone have determined me to give notice of what had fallen into my hands?

It remains to be examined whether it would have been better to arrest the bearer of the letter, or to act as I did? I will not inquire into this point, for, to say the truth, the man was out of my house before I had come to any decision; the reasons which I have had the honour to state to your Majesty having kept me for some time in suspense. It remains to examine the manner of my giving the information.

As some difficulty had arisen between the Secretary of State and myself respecting the visit which prevented our meeting one another, I directed my letter to the King, and only left to him the care of forwarding it. If it was a fault in me to write direct to the King, this is the reason of it. But I venture to say, Sire, that this proceeding

will not be suspected of affectation, because it is supported by the truth; it was a matter wholly unpremeditated, not a false accusation, but a certain fact which concerned him, and I may be authorised to write direct to himself, both because the Secretary of State and myself did not then see each other, and because the kind treatment which I received from him might well make me warm in his favour.

But, Sire, in whatever manner the letter reached him — since your Majesty allows that it was proper to send it to him — could I stop half way and not say how the letter had been delivered to me? If your Majesty has read the terms of it, you will see that the writer expects my answer in order to regulate his conduct accordingly. This answer, then, must be taken by him who brought me the letter, seeing that I know his address. Hence it was necessary either to be wholly silent or to keep wholly to the truth.

It seems to me that nothing is so dangerous in matters of this kind as to endeavour at the same time to go backwards and forwards. Yet, Sire, whatever might happen I should have conformed to your Majesty's orders on the subject, if the letter, which you have done me the honour to write to me, had reached me sooner. But you will have seen the steps which I took on the subject, by the letter which I had the honour to write to you on my return from Newmarket.

The Catholic religion will not, in my opinion, suffer any thing from this matter, for it is here

tolerated more openly than it was even in the time of King Charles II.; and it seems evident that the king of England has determined to leave it at peace in order to secure his own.

As for the missions, Sire, I should tell a falsehood if I were to say that I foresee the effects which they will produce; but when one is entangled in an affair, from which one cannot escape without inconvenience, one must choose the plan which offers the easiest means of getting rid of the difficulty; and I should believe that I had done so, but that am so unfortunate as to see that your Majesty entertains the opposite opinion, and your sentiments are the guide of mine.

The journey of the King to Holland is still spoken of, and I humbly request your Majesty to let me know your intentions as to whether you desire that I should remain here or prepare to follow him.

COUNT TALLARD TO THE MARQUIS DE TORCY.

London, April 30. 1698.

I have received the letter which the King did me the honour to address to me on the 23rd of this month. I hope, that if you have the goodness to read the reply which I have made, you will not find me so culpable, as it seems I have been supposed to be; and I venture to say, that

the worst course would have been to act only by halves.

I have had the honour to inform you that M. de Bussy had been arrested; he is, without dispute, the man most suspected by the government, and considered as a declared Jacobite. He has written to me, to beg me to claim him as a Frenchman. I have caused him to be told that I could not take any step in his favour till I knew the secret of his detention. Have the kindness, I beg you, Sir, to let me know the line of conduct which I ought to observe respecting him.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Kensington, $\frac{\text{April 22.}}{\text{May 2.}}$ 1698.

The day before yesterday I received your letter of the 25th. I impatiently expect an answer to that which I wrote to you from Newmarket. Since I have returned here Count Tallard has not spoken to me of any business, nor have I thought fit to speak to him before I knew the sentiments of the Pensionary and had received your answer. I hope to learn, at the same time, when you will have fixed your audience of leave and settled the time for your departure. My impatience to see you increases more and more. I have appointed the Earl of Jersey to succeed you in the embassy. He is making preparations so as to be able to leave this shortly after your return.

At length the Duke of Shrewsbury has entirely declined taking any office, and has returned to Eyford. He affirms that it is solely in consequence of the feeble state of his health, which, in truth, is very bad, from spitting blood; but the world believes that he has refused to take office, because I would not agree to give the seals to Lord Wharton; these the Duke of Shrewsbury will keep, however, till after the session of Parliament, and thus the affair is secret for the present. They urge me to make Lord Wharton Lord Chamberlain, to which I am as little inclined as to making him Secretary of State. The Whigs pretend that they will not be satisfied, and that my affairs will not be concluded to my satisfaction in Parliament if I do not gratify him. You see how far they carry matters. As for the Earl of Sunderland, they say no more of him than if he were dead.* Now

* King William, as it has been seen by many passages of his letters, was very anxious for the return of the Earl of Sunderland, and could not bear being without him; no doubt because, as Burnet tells us, "during the time of his credit, things had been carried on with more spirit and better success than before:" and, in fact, according to the same authority, after Sunderland's retirement the government fell into a feebleness and a disjointed state, which made his past services more dear to the King. Among the most ardent in the opposition offered by the Whigs to the return of this statesman was Lord Wharton, comptroller of the household, whom, for his hasty and indiscreet temper, and the freedom of his language, King William never liked, notwithstanding the eminent services Wharton had rendered at the Revolution. Lord Wharton was much regarded by the Whig leaders; to whom, says Speaker Onslow, "he was always firm, and of great use from his abilities, especially in Par-

that the king of Spain is a little better, they think that there is no longer any thing to apprehend; and

liament." He had their entire confidence, and for this cause they were willing to give him the seals of Secretary of State in case the Duke of Shrewsbury withdrew, or that, if the Duke was persuaded to remain in office, Lord Wharton should receive the Staff of Chamberlain, which had been vacant since the retreat of the Earl of Sunderland. The King would not confer on Lord Wharton either of these posts. He had very recently refused to send him to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant, at which Lord Wharton and his friends had been very angry; and fearing they would become yet more dissatisfied, King William desired that the Duke of Shrewsbury would not let his determination to resign the Seals be known, being desirous that this matter should remain in suspense. "His Majesty," wrote Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury, April 18. O. S., "his Majesty approves that your Grace's going to Eyford be spoken of as done by his consent, as the best means for your recovering. The King is not without apprehension that your going away thus on a sudden, will be interpreted as if you were dissatisfied that Lord Wharton had not the Seals; and they will say that, in that case you would have been prevailed upon to take the White Staff." King William was much displeased when he learned that the Duke of Shrewsbury, sick of the cares and humiliations of a Court life, suffering of bad health, and vexed at not possessing the royal confidence, had determined to retire altogether, and to refuse both the Staff of Chamberlain and the Seals of Secretary. The obstinacy of William III. in forcing the Earl of Sunderland upon a ministry from whom that nobleman differed, and by whom he was hated, the fixed resolve of the Duke of Shrewsbury to retire in this delicate conjuncture, and the resolution of the King to exclude from the cabinet council the only man who had the approbation of the Whig leaders, were among the principal causes of the embarrassments which tormented King William during hislast days.

Thomas, fifth Lord Wharton, was created Earl of Wharton in 1706; and Marquis of Wharton in 1714.

I much fear that I shall receive some address to complete the disbanding of the troops, without considering that France is not reducing her army, and is making naval preparations.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, $\frac{\text{April 22.}}{\text{May 2.}}$ 1698.

Last Tuesday's letters from Holland are not yet arrived. I expect them with great impatience, and hope to receive your answers to my letters from Newmarket, concerning the great affair of the Spanish succession, about which I have learnt nothing further: probably they wait in France for my answer. Since the news came that the king of Spain is better, people here begin to lay aside their fears again, and think there is nothing more to be apprehended. The humour of this nation is inconceivable, and how difficult it is to adopt positive measures.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, May 3. 1698.

The Earl of Jersey is appointed ambassador to your Majesty; he is a very agreeable man, but has a very limited understanding. His wife is very clever: she is a Catholic, and will accompany him.*

* Barbara, daughter of the notorious William Chiffinch, closet-keeper to Charles II.

It is taken amiss here that the King should send a person of our religion to France; but he had no choice, for he was the only man in England who was willing to go. He is one of the Lords Justices of Ireland, and he retains his office and salary. The Duke of Shrewsbury is extremely ill, and withdraws entirely from public affairs. He was in very high credit with the party in Parliament called Whigs, and will be a great loss to the King. It is not believed that the office of Secretary of State, held by the Duke of Shrewsbury, will be soon filled up, and it is thought that the elections for the new Parliament will be waited for to see what party will prevail in them, in order to fill the office with a member of the predominant party.

THE EARL OF PORTLAND TO WILLIAM III.

Paris, May 4. 1698.

Since the last letter, which I had the honour of despatching to your Majesty, nothing has passed worth writing about. I set out on Tuesday the 24th, in the morning, for Versailles, intending to remain there some days. On the evening of the following day, I received your Majesty's letter of the 14—24th, from Newmarket, when I took an opportunity of speaking to M. de Pomponne and M. de Torcy respecting the proposals; but after that, up to Friday, the 2nd of this month, they had not received any letters from Count Tallard; and,

therefore, as they did not know what had passed at the audience which he had at Newmarket, they could say nothing more than that they must wait for the arrival of his courier to know what had taken place there. I repeated to them what I had said before, insisting absolutely on the extension of the barrier of the Netherlands, on the places named in the Mediterranean, and, in general, on others in the West Indies, for the security of our commerce in both seas; and as the express from Count Tallard had been so long coming, and I had been four days at Versailles, and had said that I was preparing to return on Tuesday, I told the ministers that I would stop there if the King ordered me; but otherwise, I should be ready to return at his command, as soon as he would let me know. They replied, that by the letters of Count Tallard, he spoke in high terms of your Majesty; that you had well received the proposals, and even that you had not spoken in strong terms of Dunkirk, and of the places for the security of our commerce in the Mediterranean and the Indies, on which I did not fail absolutely to insist by repeated orders from your Majesty, taking what they said to me for an artifice to get out of me whether I had any orders to relax, which it will always be time enough to do, if your Majesty approves, since the matter is not urgent. They told me that your Majesty's principal difficulty arose from the proposal to give Milan to the duke of Savoy. I replied, that your Majesty had ridiculed the proposal, which could not have been made except for form's sake, or that the duke

might cede Savoy to France, but that your Majesty had written to me principally on the point which I had just mentioned. They answered, that the letters having just arrived, and the matter being of such importance, it would be necessary to make a report to the King in council, which would not be held till Sunday. They promised to let me know when I should return, and after that the King would inform me, or speak to me himself, respecting the time of my audience of leave. I took the opportunity also of showing them that, conformably to the will of the King, I had not opened my mouth respecting the residence of King James in France, nor of the forbearance shown to assassins, whose conduct I related to them, and the new plot which they were endeavouring to put in practice, and which they will not discontinue, so long as that king remains here; that I begged them to believe (they would make such use of it as they should think fit) that I had said this, on their word that they would not speak of it to any one but the King; and this too after having told them, that from the confidence which I had in his word and in his justice, I had communicated to them the particulars of a matter which must necessarily be kept secret.

Yesterday M. de Torcy paid me a visit of ceremony, and then stopped to dinner with me. He told me that he should let me know to-day when I should return to Versailles, respecting the proposals, and that his Majesty had very well received what I had desired them to say about the assassins

and the manner in which I had said it; that he had orders to tell me that, if I could discover that there were any of these villains in France, he would have them arrested on my application. I had spoken to them at great length about their conduct in this respect, and of the impossibility of establishing a good understanding and confidence till other measures were taken here; since your Majesty could not be contented with mere externals, nor with the good reception given to me, and which, in fact, is daily more and more distinguished; for during the stay which I made at Versailles the King showed me a thousand attentions.* On retiring to rest, he ordered the candlestick to be given to me; he has himself shown me the garden and the fountains, walking about the whole evening, and has never seen me, though often three times in the day, without speaking to me, conversing cheerfully, and talking on all kind of subjects. Your Majesty is sufficiently acquainted with this nation to judge, after that, what all the court do, in which I can say, without flattery, that your

* "29 Avril. 1698. — Le Roi donna une grande audience à my Lord Portland, à qui l'on fit voir, l'après-dîner, toutes les fontaines. Il vint au coucher du Roi, et le Roi lui fit donner le bougeoir." *Dangeau.*

"Le Roi," says Saint-Simon, "fit pour cet ambassadeur ce qui n'a jamais été fait pour aucun autre. Il lui donna un soir le bougeoir à son coucher, qui est une faveur qui ne se fait qu'aux gens les plus considérables, et que le Roi veut distinguer. Rarement les ambassadeurs se familiarisent à faire leur cour à ces heures, et, s'il y en vient, il n'arrive presque jamais qu'ils reçoivent cet agrément."

Majesty is more highly honoured, esteemed, and respected than in your own dominions; and of this I hope soon to give your Majesty an account by word of mouth, to your great satisfaction. I must, however, tell your Majesty that the near relations of Lord Feversham, such as Marshals Duras and Lorge *, and the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, have not been to see me, or shown me any civility; and though the King spoke, in the presence of the latter, of his stag-hounds, and said that I ought to see them hunt, and though the Duke said to me at the same time that he would let me know when I could do so, he has never yet done it, and when I rallied him on the subject, he excused himself by saying that King James often hunted with him; so that I have never seen his hounds. †

I forgot to mention that I have been told that your Majesty had not spoken about Gibraltar. I think, however, that it will be very necessary to insist upon it, especially for the reasons I have before stated, that we may relax at any time.

* Louis Duras, Marquis de Blanquefort, came into England at the Restoration, was naturalised here in 1665, and created Baron Duras of Holdenby in 1672. He became Earl of Feversham in 1677, under the limitation of the patent of peerage granted in the preceding year to Sir G. Sondes, whose eldest daughter he had married. He was captain of a troop of life guards at the time of the Revolution, and commanded the army of James II. when the Prince of Orange came to Whitehall. He resigned all his posts, and lived in obscurity till his death, 1709. Lord Feversham was the brother of Marshals Duras and Lorge.

† See *antè*, the note p. 193.

The Indies in the hands of a French king of Spain would be so great an advantage to this nation, that I cannot imagine but that they will do every thing to get them. And this makes me think that the three ships which, in consequence of the great devotion of the King, are sent to Carthagena to carry back every thing that has been plundered from the churches, is for the purpose of making a party there, among the clergy, to turn it to account on the first opportunity.

THE MARQUIS DE TORCY TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

May 4. 1698.

Count Tallard, in giving an account to the King of his audience, writes, that the king of England told him, that the proposals were of such great importance that it was impossible to answer immediately, and that he would consider of them. Upon this answer his Majesty has ordered Count Tallard to wait for what the king of England shall say to him; and as he can say nothing more particularly to your Excellency till he has received more precise information from London, his Majesty has thought that it was useless to give you, Sir, an audience on this one subject. The remainder of the letter contains only what I have had the honour to say to your Excellency. If, however, you think that you ought to speak to the King, and will come here on Tuesday, his Majesty will

receive you in his cabinet after the levee. Lastly, if instead of a private audience your Excellency wishes for a public one, as you have said to me, I beg you to inform me of it, and I will execute what you desire.

MONSIEUR will not hunt on Tuesday; he has ordered me to inform your Excellency of this.

LOUIS XIV. TO COUNT TALLARD.

Versailles, May 5. 1698.

Sir,

Your letter of the 25th of last month informs me of what passed on your journey to Newmarket. Before I received it the Earl of Portland had been informed by the king of England of what you had said to that prince; but he had given an account of his answers rather different from what you write to me. It was, probably, with a view to make me explain myself still more particularly respecting some of the proposals which were made to you. In short, whatever be the motive of his conduct, he has assured me, before I received your letter, that of the two alternatives which you had proposed, the king of England found the one impossible and the other impracticable; that the Dutch, jealous of their barrier, and finding it already too weak, would never consent to see me master of Luxemburg, as I proposed in the first alternative; that the commerce of the Mediterra-

nean would be entirely lost to them and to the English if the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily were in my hands; that all these reasons rendered the execution of the first alternative impossible; that with respect to the second, it was impracticable because these two nations would never be persuaded, complaisantly, to view the increase of my power, if they did not, at the same time, find their own interest in it; that they could not distinguish my possessions from those of my grandson, who would have Spain and the Indies for his share, and that it would be deceiving themselves to believe that, in this arrangement, I should not have it in my power to interrupt, whenever I thought proper, the commerce of the two nations in the Indies and the Mediterranean; that the English and the Dutch had not the same reason to fear, on the part of the Emperor; that that prince had no ships, and it would be very long ere Spain, under the government of the Archduke, could have any naval force; consequently, that it was absolutely necessary to secure the commerce of the English and the Dutch by places of safety which would be given them, if the crown of Spain should, in the partition of the monarchy, fall to the share of one of my grandsons; that this crown would so considerably increase my power, that it was just, at the same time, to satisfy the rest of Europe, by strengthening the barrier of the Dutch on the side of the Netherlands; lastly, Lord Portland, speaking on the subject, by the order of his master, had repeated almost the same things he

had said, as of himself, when the first overture was made him on my part, to take measures, in case of the demise of the king of Spain; the only difference is, that he mentioned, this time, the places of safety which the king, his master, demanded, for the commerce of the Mediterranean: he named Gibraltar on the mainland of Spain, Ceuta and Oran on the coast of Africa, and Port Mahon; he did not state what the king of England desired in the Indies, but he said that that prince had been surprised at your having told him that I had given you no instructions on that subject; lastly, he strongly insisted on the article of Dunkirk.

I do not repeat to you all that was answered him; you will find the greater part in the letters which I have already written to you and chiefly in that of the 17th of last month; because, as he made use of the same arguments that he had already employed, the answers were necessarily similar. For the rest, we principally aimed at proving to him, that the monarchy of Spain, under the government of one of my grandsons, would be as separate from my crown as it now is, the government remaining entirely in the hands of the Spaniards; that one of my grandsons reigning there would know no other interests than those of his dominions; that, consequently, I should derive no other advantage from it than that of causing one of my grandchildren to have a portion of that which ought to belong to my son; that it would not be prudent to weaken my frontiers merely for this

consideration, and to occasion such a real prejudice to my crown, as would ensue, from ceding some of my fortresses in Flanders; that therefore the proposal to increase the barrier is wholly inadmissible; that with respect to Dunkirk, there was no reason to believe that the king of England had made it with a view of obtaining what he asked, and that it is too well known, how important it is for my kingdom that that place should remain always in my hands.

It was explained to him that if Port Mahon were separated from the Spanish monarchy, and given up to the English or to the Dutch, it would render them masters of all the commerce of the Mediterranean, and would absolutely exclude all other nations; that Spain itself could not suffer a foreign power so near the coast of the kingdom; that there was still less likelihood that the Spaniards would consent to see the English masters of a fortress on the Spanish continent, such as Gibraltar; that with respect to the Indies, the common interest of all nations is, that things should remain in the state in which they now are, and that the commerce should not be disturbed, as it would be, if the English or the Dutch possessed one of the places belonging to the Spanish monarchy in America; lastly, that as these two nations have no right to a share in the partition of the succession of his Catholic Majesty, they could not require any thing more than the security of their commerce, and that nothing was more calculated to insure this object, than to let the government of Spain subsist as it now is, and

as it would be, under the reign of a king placed from his infancy in the hands of the Spaniards, and educated by them, according to their maxims, and without having any of my subjects about him.

The Earl of Portland spoke of the proposal of giving Milan to the duke of Savoy, in the same manner as I perceive that the king of England had done to you; and he was answered on this point conformably to what I had desired you to say, and to what you did say, at your audience.

Things were in this state, and I expected on the report which the Earl of Portland had made that the king of England had manifested extreme aversion to the two alternatives, when your letter showed me that that prince entered, in some measure, into what you proposed to him, and that it would not be so difficult to bring matters to a happy conclusion as the Earl of Portland had pretty plainly intimated. This confirms me still more in the opinion which I always entertained, that it is necessary that this affair should be negotiated in London. I am extremely satisfied with the manner in which you conduct it; and it is certain that the advantage will be great, in obliging the king of England, as you have done, to explain himself; whereas the Earl of Portland has no other view than to discover my sentiments, and to conceal those of the king, his master.

But you have at present no steps to take; and as the king of England has told you that he would reflect upon the proposals which you have made to him, that they are of such great importance that

it is impossible to reply to them immediately, you will wait, till he answers more particularly, and you will inform me of the result immediately afterwards.

I have only let the Earl of Portland know that I gave you this order. He had asked if I would tell him my intentions on the answers which the king of England had given you. It appeared to me to be useless to grant him an audience, merely to communicate to him what I write to you. I have therefore merely informed him of it, at the same time leaving him at liberty either to come and speak to me on the subject, in a private audience, or to take his audience of leave, for which he has applied.

I have only to repeat to you that in no case whatever will I cede Dunkirk, or any of the fortresses which I possess in the Low Countries; that I can neither promise to consent that Port Mahon or Gibraltar should be in the hands of the English or the Dutch; that a place in the West Indies, occupied by either of those two nations, would seem to me to be the ruin of the commerce of all the rest of Europe; lastly, that I would consent, if it were necessary, to give up to them, as I have already stated to you, the fortresses situated on the coast of Africa; and that with respect to Milan being destined for the duke of Savoy, that difficulty would not hinder our agreeing on the other articles, if it was the only one to be settled. But I confirm what I have already told you, to wait for the answer of the king of England, or till the

negotiation is more advanced, to express yourself respecting these facilities. You may, however, continue to let that prince know that I propose Milan for the duke of Savoy, principally with the view to frustrate the designs of the Emperor on Italy, and that if he believes that this object may be attained by other means, you will give me an account of those which he shall propose to you.

There is reason to believe that the king of England would not like you to remain in his kingdom during his absence: independently of this, it is for the good of my service that you should follow that prince to Holland, if he goes thither, and will permit you to do so.

I have also received your letter of the 30th of last month, and its contents show me, that you had good reasons for acting as you did with respect to the incident of which you gave me an account.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, $\frac{\text{April 26.}}{\text{May 6.}}$ 1698.

I think you argue very well about the great and delicate negotiation of the Spanish succession. I intend to speak to Count Tallard about it to-morrow or after to-morrow, in conformity to your sentiments; and I hope to receive letters from the Earl of Portland in the interim. I really think France will not be so bent upon the form, but will not recede from insisting on our engaging ourselves positively

with them, which appears to be very natural; for without that, they cannot pledge themselves with us. It will be a very difficult and delicate business how to communicate the negotiation to the Emperor, as it is known beforehand that he will never accede to it, nor accept either of the alternatives, particularly the one; and, moreover, he will pretend we are already pledged to him. So that it merits reflection whether one ought not to be almost agreed with France about the conditions, before it be communicated to the Emperor; as I do not know why it should be done sooner, being assured the Emperor will not accede, however it may be. And besides, it may be that France would agree to give us better conditions before, than after it is communicated to the Emperor; for, in the latter case, it may be, that they will make it a point of honour not to give way in any thing, as you know they have done on all occasions. It is certain, that whatever method we adopt in this business, we shall exasperate the Emperor to the utmost; and must look upon him in future as an enemy, if we make any agreement or convention with France whatever relative to the Spanish succession. With respect to the conditions thereof, I am fully persuaded that France desires that alternative, by which a son of the Dauphin is to have Spain and the West Indies, and will lean towards that, when we get further into the negotiation, and endeavour to make the other inadmissible, though it is certainly the most advantageous for the tranquillity of Europe. It will be necessary that you should

inform yourself secretly of the importance of the commerce of the Republic, as well in the Mediterranean as in the West Indies. I shall do the same here; but I do not intend to communicate this negotiation to any one till the Earl of Portland's return; and then perhaps only after the breaking up of the Parliament.

My ambassador Williamson will receive orders by this post to conclude with Lillieroot in concert measures with you, conformably to what you transmitted to me. I find Count Bonde has some knowledge of it, and is discontented that this negotiation does not pass through his hands here.

THE EARL OF PORTLAND TO WILLIAM III.

Paris, May 8. 1698.

The day after I had the honour last to write to your Majesty, I received a letter from the Marquis de Torcy, in which he informed me that he had spoken to the King to ask him when he would be pleased to give me my audience of leave; and that his Majesty had answered, that since I had left it to his choice, he would not give me the audience till after his return from Marly, whither he is going to-day, to pass a week, since he desired to intimate to me that it was his wish to keep me here as long as he could, and that he should be very glad to wait, before speaking to me on the proposals, till Count Tallard should know the sentiments of

your Majesty, since you had told him that the affair was of such consequence that you wished to take a little time to consider of it.

I went on Thursday to Versailles to the King's levee. After he had retired, he sent to inquire whether I had any intention of speaking to him, and on my answering that I had nothing to say which was worthy of taking up his time, M. de Torcy came to tell me, that, though his Majesty had nothing important to say to me, yet as I was there, he desired to speak with me: and I accordingly went into his cabinet. The King said, among other things, that he believed that your Majesty had deferred speaking to Count Tallard, in order previously to ascertain the sentiments of the States General. I told him that that assembly was too numerous to ask its opinion beforehand upon a matter which required so much secrecy; and that if your Majesty had desired to wait to know the sentiments of any one, it could only be of some minister. After which, the King intimated that he should wish much to agree entirely with your Majesty: "but you know," said he, "that there are certain things which I can never do;" to which I answered, "I hope that these will be of no great importance;" but that on our part there were some things of the utmost consequence, to which your Majesty could never consent, contrary to the interests of the two nations. On this the King began to speak of several indifferent topics, to joke and to laugh, in the most affable manner.

I am very glad that your Majesty has appointed

the Earl of Jersey to be my successor.* I believe it would have been very serviceable if your Majesty could have sent him hither before my departure. I regret the Duke of Shrewsbury. The attempt which is made to force a successor is insupportable; and if this party could be gratified in what is unreasonable, it would not even delay the address which your Majesty apprehends.

To-morrow I shall go to Fontainebleau and Vaux, to see these two places: I shall be away one night.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

Sire, London, May 8. 1698.

The Earl of Jersey, who is appointed ambassador at your Majesty's court, as I had the honour to write to you, called upon me to-day, to inform me that the king of England wished me to be with him at eleven o'clock this morning, and I accordingly waited upon him. On being shown into his cabinet, he told me that he was very glad to see me before he went to Windsor, to tell me what he thought about the alternatives which I had proposed to him on the part of your Majesty; that the affair was of such great consequence, that I ought not to be surprised at his having taken some time to reflect on it; that he would confess, to speak frankly and to act sincerely towards your Majesty,

* Portland had married the fourth sister of the Earl of Jersey.

that it had not been possible for him to come to a determination in a matter of such importance, connected as he is with the republic of Holland, without communicating it, under the seal of the strictest secrecy, to the person who has the confidence of the States General, that is to say, to the Pensionary Heinsius.

This, Sire, was not said distinctly or without circumlocution, but this is the sense of it. The remainder of what he said to me, and of which I shall have the honour to give your Majesty an account, was equally enveloped in prolix reasonings and digressions; and if I aimed at giving myself importance, rather than at sparing your Majesty a recital which, by its great length, might become tedious, I might enter into the details of all that was said over and over again, in a conversation of an hour and a half, in which I venture to flatter myself, that your Majesty would be contented both with the answers which I made, and with the care which I took to make the king of England speak out; but, as I have abundance of matter without this, I confine myself to what it is essential to bring to your Majesty's knowledge.

I shall then have the honour to say that he expressed to me how much he was embarrassed, and that he was very glad to learn your Majesty's sentiments respecting the manner in which he should behave towards the Emperor. He repeated, several times, that he had a treaty with that prince; that he saw clearly the inconvenience there would be in attempting to act in concert with him; but

that, on the other hand, it was an extreme resolution to determine to regulate every thing without his knowledge, and to declare to him on the death of the king of Spain that the succession had been divided, and what share he was to have of it; that there was another point which gave him pain, namely, to engage in the partition of the dominion of a prince who was still living.

I replied to the first of these two points, that I believed he was as well convinced as myself of the answer which the Emperor would make if he were consulted; that he would say that the entire succession of his Catholic Majesty belonged to him; that the ambition of that prince was so well known, and all the steps which he had taken for a certain time past were so decided, that all hope must be given up of bringing him to a reasonable treaty; that it would be nothing more than a complimentary formality towards him, because it would not be desiring really to enter into a treaty with your Majesty, to think of making it only with his consent; therefore I thought it was best to begin by regulating every thing, and then, perhaps, your Majesty would agree that the king of England should do what he thought fit to settle amicably with that prince.

The King replied, that he was accustomed to be more open than this in his proceedings; that he saw the reasons for not opening himself to the Emperor; that he agreed with me respecting the answer which he would make, but that he was very glad to learn your Majesty's sentiments on that

subject, and that he desired me to discover what they are. I said that in regard to the scruples which he entertained with respect to the king of Spain, I agreed that, generally speaking, it would not be becoming to partition the succession of a person yet alive, but that in the present case it was indispensable; that everybody wished to profit by the dismemberment of the Spanish monarchy; that they would begin to act on the day that the prince should close his eyes; that there would then be no more time to talk of negotiations, and of taking measures, and that what he owed to the tranquillity of his people and to that of the republic which he protected, called upon him to prevent what in such a case might produce disorder in Europe; that therefore the rules of courtesy were not violated, and to this he agreed.

After this he again spoke of the two proposed alternatives, and said that his notion would be to give the kingdom of Spain and the Indies to one of the sons of the Dauphin, the kingdom of Naples, Milan, and Sicily to the Archduke (for he again referred to Sicily), and the Low Countries to the electoral prince of Bavaria, strengthening the barrier: into the explanation of this I did not think fit to enter, as it would have been of no use; or the kingdom of Spain, the Indies, and the Spanish Low Countries in the state in which they are, to the Electoral Prince; the kingdom of Naples, Sicily, and the places in Tuscany, to the Dauphin; and Milan to the Archduke.

I again spoke of the duke of Savoy on occasion

of the first alternative, but without success. There is an opposition here which appears to me to be invincible, and he even said that, judging from the disposition of that prince, his future conduct, however long he lived, would be inevitably such as his past career might have led one to expect.

The principal point upon which I insisted was the duchy of Luxemburg for the Dauphin in case of the second alternative. I showed, to the best of my ability, that the fortress of that name was of no use, except for the defence of your frontier. He seemed to be fully persuaded of the contrary. He believes, or pretends to believe, that your Majesty may carry your arms within sight of Nimeguen, when Luxemburg is in your hands. I in vain spoke as a man acquainted with that country: he constantly opposed my sentiments, and confined himself to show that, at least, it commands the country of Juliers and that of Cologne, and in a word, that it threatens the Lower Rhine; that notwithstanding this he had not always been of the opinion of those who believe that no proposal for an equivalent ought to be listened to, but that he had been obliged to yield to the clamour of all the princes of Germany and of the States General. I concluded, as usual, by saying that I did not dispute what he said, but that I would have the honour to give an account of it to your Majesty, and would acquaint him with your Majesty's reply.

He added an observation which appeared to me very essential, namely, that I might well believe that in taking this course he could no longer reckon on

his former alliances; that he could no longer rely on the House of Austria, and that his only dependence was on his alliance with your Majesty. I answered, that these sentiments gave me great pleasure; that I should have the honour to give you an account of them, assuring him that I was convinced of the real desire of your Majesty to maintain a good understanding.

He then spoke, as usual, of the commerce of England and Holland. He said, that he had received letters from the Earl of Portland, in which it was stated that your Majesty had communicated to him the same proposals of which I gave you an account at Newmarket; that he had even received them in a written memorandum; that that ambassador spoke in the highest terms of the kindness of your Majesty; that he was very grateful for them; that it was the first time that they had been separated from each other for so long a period; that he had ordered him to return, and that, being informed of the secret in question, we could treat together at his return, on those matters of which it would not always be advisable that he should speak to me, because of the clamour which such long and frequent conversations would give rise to.

He added that, with respect to the Mediterranean, he still required Ceuta, Oran, and Port Mahon. He would not explain himself with regard to the Indies. On this question I spoke to him at some length. I showed him that it could never be conceded that the English and Dutch should have a port on the continent of America; that this would

be much more advantageous to them than if they possessed the whole of the Indies; that the only thing which supported the commerce of Spain with the Indies was that other nations were obliged to take to Cadiz the cloths and other articles of which the Indians had need; that as all these goods passed through their hands, and no stranger was able to trade directly with America, the money flowed into their kingdom, whence it was distributed, as it were, among all the states of Europe; that the system would be wholly changed if the English and the Dutch could carry their goods themselves to the continents of the New World; that no commerce would be carried on by Cadiz or by Spain; that other states would no longer have any part in it; and that it was a thing which could never be consented to. I added, that neither could the port of Havannah, of which he did me the honour to speak at the last interview, be separated from the kingdom of Spain; that it was a place where the galleons anchored to refit for a month on their return from the Indies; that this entrepôt was absolutely necessary. He replied, that if that port were not granted another in the vicinity must be sought; that he could not say any thing to me on that subject, because he had no personal knowledge of it; and that he had thought proper to observe such strict secrecy that he had not ventured to mention the name of that place to anybody, with a view of obtaining information.

He was then about to revert to the subject of King James. When he began, I interrupted him and said,

"Sire, for God's sake spare yourself the trouble of speaking to me of a matter on which I can only repeat the same language which I had the honour to hold the last time." He was surprised, and asked me if I had had the honour to give you an account of what he had said to me during the first conversation. I replied, that I had given an account to your Majesty of the whole, and that I had not received any fresh instructions upon the subject. He replied, that he left it to me to write to your Majesty what I thought fit on that point, "*mais vous voyez bien*," said he, *ce qu'il y a à voir, et si, en me faisant français, car je le deviens*," . . and here he stopped.

The result of all this, Sire, is that the king of England, who will not reason nor speak on this point, will leave it to the care of the Earl of Portland, who will acquit himself very well.

He spoke with such great earnestness of the duchy of Luxemburg that I can hardly believe he will give way. He, however, dropped a word of the opinion he had entertained of accepting an equivalent for that place.

He made no difficulty in plainly intimating that the States General would enter into the same treaty as himself.

It appeared to me that the whole of what he said about the manner in which he should proceed with the Emperor is rather a justification of his separating himself from his interests, than a real embarrassment, and my own opinion is, that he has no treaty with him, except for the Milanese, but

I may be mistaken; and I am persuaded that the information which he has received from Holland inclines him strongly to embrace the alternative which gives Spain to the Electoral Prince; and I am inclined to believe this because there is no proportion in these alternatives, as I told him.

I cannot conclude without doing myself the honour to tell your Majesty that the Carmelite Friar who gave me the letter in question has not been arrested, and that no further investigation has been made into the matter for this month past.* This induces me to hope, Sire, that your Majesty will think that I was not so wrong as your Majesty at first believed, in acting as I did.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Windsor, $\frac{\text{April } 29.}{\text{May } 9.}$ 1698.

Yesterday, before I left Kensington, I had a long conversation with Count Tallard; in which I told him I had maturely considered the proposals he had made me; and, on account of the great desire I had to see the peace of Europe preserved, without presuming to judge of another's right, I thought there were materials in the said proposals to ne-

* "I hear the Friar d'Orvilliers is still in town, but he conceals himself so well that I cannot seize him. He intends to go within a few days for France: I shall try if he can be taken at any of the ports." *Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* May 12. O. S.

gotiate upon; but that I was greatly embarrassed as to the form. For I did not think it becoming to do so without a previous communication with the Emperor, whose ally I had been so long. I asked him, whether he had any instructions upon that point, or if he knew his master's intentions? He said, he did not, but would write about it: that, for his part, he did not see to what purpose a previous communication should be made, being well assured it would not be accepted, but would disgust the Court of Vienna. I replied that it must nevertheless be done, sooner or later. But he thought it would be best to wait till we were agreed about the conditions, or to keep the matter wholly secret till the event took place, which I hold to be impossible. Conversing further on the subject, I said that I thought the alternative of the Electoral Prince's obtaining Spain, the West Indies, and the Low Countries, would best suit us, but that we should never consent to dismembering the duchy of Luxemburg from it, but that it should remain for a barrier as at present. To this he said little, except that, in this case, the Emperor should have Milan. On my observing to him, that I thought this portion too small, and that something more must be added, he replied that he did not see any necessity for it. With respect to the other alternative, on my stating that in case it took place, we must have some places of security in the Mediterranean and the West Indies, and that the barrier in the Spanish Netherlands must be made better, because nothing could in this case come from Spain

for the defence of these provinces; and that moreover Milan should go to the Emperor, and not to the duke of Savoy; he did not enter into much debate, but remained satisfied with saying he did not know which of these alternatives it was the king his master's intention to prefer, but in the way I had stated it, the first was certainly preferable; namely, that Spain should go to the House of Bavaria. In the whole course of the conversation he showed great eagerness to bring this negotiation to an end; and concluded with saying, he would acquaint his master by a courier of what had passed, and would communicate to me his answer. I told him that I had hitherto communicated this affair to none but you.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, May 9. 1698.

The king of England is very far from being master here; he is generally hated by all the great men and the whole of the nobility: I could not venture to say despised, for in truth that word cannot be applied to him, but it is the feeling which all those whom I have just mentioned entertain towards him. It is not the same with the people, who are very favourably inclined towards him, yet less so than at the beginning. The friendship which this prince shows to the Dutch, the intimacy in which he lives with them and with foreigners, the immense benefits which he confers on them, and

the declared favour of the Earl of Albermarle, who is a very young man, have produced the effect which I have mentioned.

The nation is divided into two parties, under whose name all the others have rallied: one is called the Whigs, and the other the Tories. The first is composed of Presbyterians, and of those who are opposed to arbitrary power and the royal authority. It is they who have placed the crown on the head of the present king. The second is composed of Episcopalians, of those who are in favour of monarchy, and who consider the king at present on the throne as king only *de facto*, and not king *de jure*. These two parties divide all England between them. The King has of late passed several times from one party to the other, according to his wants, and has always abandoned, in order to succeed in his object, those who were in office, and who were opposed to the prevailing party. Hence arises the difficulty he has in finding persons whom he can place in office; nobody desires it, and in this respect every thing is in perpetual motion.

Nothing can equal the prodigality and disorder in the finances of England during the whole of the late war. Every thing was done with regularity or system, and without economy; and I confess that nothing has given me so much surprise, as the details which have come to my knowledge on this subject.

No Englishman has any real share in public affairs, except the Lord Chancellor, a man of about

thirty-seven or thirty-eight years of age, whom the King has placed in that office, much attached to that prince—very honest, and much esteemed by all parties. He is, however, employed solely on the home affairs of the kingdom.

The Secretaries of State attend to nothing whatever, except the affairs of the provinces. All the rest passes through the hands either of the King himself, who writes a great deal, or of the Earl of Albemarle. I am persuaded that when the Earl of Portland returns he will find a place, though in this country he is looked upon as ruined.

The King is accused of being idle, at least of not being so laborious as he should be. He dines or sups three times a week with the Earl of Albemarle, and a short time before setting out for Newmarket he one day sat five hours at table.

King James has still friends in this country; and it is certain that if the expedition from La Hogue had succeeded, the greater part of England would have declared in his favour; and it is true that the present king has no solid foundation for the strengthening of his power in this country, except his army, of which he is the master, and the vicinity of the Dutch, who are also at his disposal. He has given the whole weight of Parliament to the House of Commons; the House of Lords has no credit whatever.

Nothing is so different from the manners of former times as the present style of living among the noblemen. They have no intercourse one with another after they quit the House: most of them go to

dine at some tavern, and afterwards they repair to places called coffee-houses, where every body goes without distinction. Of these there is an infinite number in London, and there they remain till they return home.

The persons most esteemed in this country are the Duke of Shrewsbury, who is dying; Lord Godolphin *, who has retired from public life after

* Sidney Godolphin, third son of Sir Francis Godolphin. He was Secretary of State in 1684, and was created a Baron the same year. At the Revolution, he was brought into the treasury, though he had voted for a regency; and was much considered by King William. "He was," says Burnet, "the most silent and modest man that was perhaps ever bred in a Court. He had a clear apprehension, and dispatched business with great method, and with so much temper that he had no personal enemies; but his silence begot a jealousy, which has hung long upon him. His incorrupt and sincere way of managing the concerns of the treasury created in all people a very high esteem for him. He loved gaming the most of any man of business I ever knew, and gave a reason for it: because it delivered him from the obligation to talk much. He had true principles of religion and virtue, and was free from all vanity, and never heaped up wealth; so that all things being led together, he was one of the worthiest and wisest men that has been employed in our time." Having been accused by Fenwick of dealing with St. Germains, he asked leave of the King to resign his post of first commissioner of the treasury, which, says Mr. Vernon, "his Majesty was very easy and kind in granting," (October, 1696). Lord Godolphin had been a constant object of hatred to most of his colleagues in office. Lord Somers, as appears from a letter he wrote at the time, seems to have rejoiced at his resignation; but the principal persons concerned in the endless manœuvres to drive him from the ministry, were the Earl of Sunderland and Lord Monmouth. It must be added that Lord Godolphin had the happiness to be the husband

accumulating great wealth; the Earl of Tankerville, formerly Lord Grey*; Lord Romney, more because he is an honest man, and holds all the great offices of the kingdom, than for any eminent talents†; there is also the Duke of Leeds, who is much esteemed. I do not speak of the Earl of Sunderland, because he is known to your Majesty: he is considered the most able man in England, and it is believed that he is higher in favour with the King than ever: he will return at the close of Parliament.

The journey which the King intends to make to Holland gives so much uneasiness to this nation, that it is much questioned if he will undertake it, at least such is the report; but perhaps it is only on account of Parliament. So much is certain that

of the accomplished Mrs. Godolphin, whose life by Evelyn has recently been printed.

* Ford, the eldest son of Ralph, Lord Grey of Wark, was a great opposer of King James II., and concerned in the rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth, in whose army he was general of the horse. He compounded for his life upon infamous conditions; for he was a witness for the conviction of others. He got into favour with King William, who created him Earl of Tankerville, and Viscount Grey of Glendale, in 1695.

† At the Revolution, Burnet tells us, "the King's chief personal favour lay between Bentinck and Sidney. He was made Secretary of State, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Master of the Ordnance; but he was so set on pleasure, that he was not able to follow business with a due application. A graceful man, and one who had lived long at Court, where he had some adventures that became very public. He was a man of a sweet and caressing temper, had no malice in his heart, but too great a love of pleasure."

the situation of the King is still very precarious, and that the moment which has given repose to all the world, has been but the beginning of troubles to this prince.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Windsor, May 2—12. 1698.

I did not receive, till this morning, your letter of the 4th of this month. On setting out from Kensington last Friday, I had a long conversation with Count Tallard, and I spoke to him to the same effect, as the letters from the Pensionary, which I had received previously. These I enclosè for your information. I owned to him that I had communicated his proposals to the Pensionary, and to no other person in the world, in the view of learning the sentiments of the Republic on so important a matter, for I could never take any measures but in conjunction with it; and I let him know in the course of conversation that this was the reason why I had not sooner given an answer to the proposals which he had made to me at Newmarket, and which were the same that had been made to you, and to which I had replied, and pretty nearly expressed my sentiments; that the desire which I had to contribute all that depended upon me to prevent a war, and to preserve the tranquillity of Europe, led me to think that without entering into any discussion of the rights of

the claimants of the Spanish succession, I might enter into a negotiation on the alternatives which he had communicated to me; that, however, I was much embarrassed about the form; that, having been so long in alliance with the Emperor, it would not be becoming in me not to communicate the proposals to him beforehand; upon which I inquired whether he had instructions or orders on this point from the king, his master. He said, No, but that he would write about it; that he could say, as his own private opinion, that he thought we should first agree together, before communicating with the Emperor, and even observe secrecy, till the event took place, since he was very sure that the ministers at Vienna would never enter into such a negotiation. As for secrecy, I told him it would hardly be practicable to observe it for so long a time.

Then conversing upon the matter itself, I told him that it would suit us better to treat on the alternative, which proposed to give Spain, the Indies, and the Low Countries, to the son of the elector of Bavaria; but that he must not imagine that we should consent that Luxemburg should be dismembered from it; that, on the contrary, we insisted that the barrier should be strengthened. He did not make much objection to the first point, but to the second he said plainly that it could not be thought of. I told him also, that by this alternative, the Emperor would have only Milan, which was too little; which he did not very strongly deny, but said he did not see how he could have more,

since the Dauphin would have only the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, no part of which he could cede.

With respect to the other alternative, I said that I had much more to demand, namely, places in the Mediterranean as guarantees, such as Port Mahon, Ceuta, and Oran, and others. I confess that I did not speak of Gibraltar, nor of the Indies, respecting which I was not sufficiently informed, and with regard to which I have reserved to myself the right of explaining myself more particularly. I only mentioned the port of Havannah, which was certainly the most important place for navigation; that with respect to the Low Countries the barrier must be more extensive, and that there was a particular reason in this case, which was irrefragable, viz. that as it could not then expect any assistance from Spain, it was necessary that it should be in a condition to maintain itself, in some measure, by its own resources, since there would then be only England and Holland which could assist it: he did not much contest this point; that as for Milan, it should also belong to the Emperor; that to think of the duke of Savoy was absurd. He concluded by telling me that he would make a faithful report of every thing, and would despatch a courier to the king, his master, on the following day. I therefore do not doubt that you will have learnt something of our conversation before you can receive this letter.

I should have written to you sooner, but I was expecting news from you. I observed in this

conversation that Count Tallard is in a terrible hurry to terminate this negotiation. I told him that on your return he should have you for his commissioner. In the course of conversation, I dropt, as if by chance, that if I agreed with France on this important affair I should be separated from the House of Austria; and I never saw a man in such joy, scarcely able to contain himself, and repeating it four or five times. I forgot to tell you, that, in our first conversation, I had spoken to him of the removal of King James, as it was impossible that the Most Christian King and myself can be on strict alliance and good understanding so long as he shall remain in France. He did not very decidedly contradict me, but kept crying out about the point of honour. I reminded him of it this last time. He assured me that he had received neither instructions nor answer, but that as Count Tallard, he could not deny, that means must be found for this purpose, as he saw clearly that this was not very compatible with our being in strict alliance. I believe that all will depend on this. I did not think fit to speak to him about the assassins, as I thought that was beneath me.

I hope that I shall receive news from you in a few days, and that I shall have the satisfaction of soon seeing you again, for which I am more impatient than you can conceive, as it is impossible to love you more tenderly than I do.

Just as I am closing my letter, I have received yours of the 8th, to which there is nothing to reply. His Most Christian Majesty has not judged amiss;

I am much rejoiced that he treats you so well: whatever happens that cannot be otherwise than advantageous.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Windsor, May 3—13. 1698.

I do not differ at all from your sentiments on that important business. It will be very difficult to manage this negotiation like the secret one at the conclusion of the peace. I can scarcely believe that France will agree to that. But we shall soon see, when Count Tallard receives an answer. I should like if you would draw up a sketch of a convention, in form of articles, in case we should come to an agreement with France about that important matter; and though it seems somewhat premature, yet there would be no harm in it, and it might probably give one some *éclaircissement.*

I will send full powers to my ambassador Williamson; in the mean time, however, he may conclude and sign the convention with Lillieroot; and though in itself it is not much, yet I think it is not a bad step to treat ulteriorly with Sweden.

I think the Republic should not be too complaisant to France on the subject of commerce, particularly in what is stipulated by the treaty of peace; but it merits consideration whether it would be proper to subject all their merchandise to custom-house duties; though I am inclined to think with you, that

we should do so to some extent. I find also, by the Earl of Portland's letters, that he is of opinion the Republic should remain firm by the treaty, of which probably Nieuport has informed you.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, May 6—16. 1698.

I have this day received yours of the 13th, and much approve the manner and form you think most proper to adopt in this important negotiation; and I shall avail myself of it when Count Tallard speaks to me again on the subject, which will probably be in a few days, when he has received an answer from his Court.

LOUIS XIV. TO COUNT TALLARD.

(No. I.)

Sir, Versailles, May 16. 1698.

I return a special answer to the letter which you wrote to me on the 9th of this month, because I have thought fit to show to the Earl of Portland the other despatch which I have written to you. The account which you give me of several circumstances which you have learnt relative to the king of England and the state of his kingdom shows me that there is no alliance more suitable to that prince than mine. Those of the House of Austria will always be burdensome to him. He can never

unite with it without engaging to furnish it with money, troops, and ships, and it seems clear that the English nation will not be easily induced to grant them, and that it is not sufficiently subservient to the will of that prince to engage in a new war without having very cogent reasons, and such as plainly interest the whole nation.

He must see, on the contrary, that the engagements which he would make with me, would secure the situation in which he is placed; that as the persons whose intentions he suspects would not hope for any assistance, but on the contrary would see him ready to receive prompt aid from me, they would soon submit and abandon all the projects which they have formed. I do not doubt that you will make a good use of all these circumstances, to insure the success of the negotiation which I have committed to you; but in order to succeed, you must not manifest any eagerness to conclude it; and it is proper that the king of England, knowing the interest which he has in uniting with me, should take some steps on his side to establish this good understanding.

I still persist in the resolution to cede to him the ports on the coast of Africa, but it is not yet time to be explicit on this point.

(No. II.)

To give you more explicitly my instructions on a matter of such importance as that of which the king of England spoke to you at the audience of

which you have given me an account, I shall divide what he said to you into two parts. The first relates to the embarrassment which he expressed respecting the manner in which he should behave towards the Emperor, and the scruples which he pretends to feel, at agreeing to a partition of the succession during the life of the king of Spain. The second contains the new proposals which he has made on the alternatives which you have communicated to him by my order.

With regard to the first article*, [there is reason to believe that the embarrassment of the king of England respecting the manner in which he is to act towards the Emperor is not such as he would have it appear; that what he said to you on the subject is perhaps a pretext, which he makes use of to obtain a more considerable share in favour of the Emperor; that he will say in the sequel that he cannot wholly abandon the House of Austria, and that, framing conditions without its participation, he must, at least, in consideration of the alliance which he has always had with it, make them advantageous. But] the only point in question at present is the difficulty which he finds in treating with me without the participation of the Emperor. I approve, in the first place, of what you answered him; you may add, that his embarrassment would seem well founded, if the Emperor, on his part, had the right to the whole

* In the margin of what is enclosed between the brackets there is written, "This article has not been read to Lord Portland."

of the Spanish succession, or at least an equal right to partition it, to take from all Europe the well-founded jealousy which it must feel at the union of two such considerable powers, in that case the neutral powers might examine what would be most agreeable to the general good, either to treat with me, or to favour the interests of the Emperor; that even in such an arrangement it might be permitted to prefer the ancient alliances; that, however, things are very far from being in such a state of equality; that by the avowal of the king of England himself, the Emperor is, of all the pretenders, the one whose right is the weakest; that, notwithstanding this, he lays claim to the whole of the Spanish succession; that the steps which he has taken with this view are too public to leave any doubt of his designs, and that the king of England is better informed of them than any body, since he himself confesses that he has a treaty with that prince *; that as he opens himself sincerely to you, I will not conceal from him that I too know what this treaty contains, and I send you a copy of it, which clearly shows, that the Emperor does not think of allowing any partition of that succession; that the king of England may recollect what he has already said to you several times, and what Lord Portland has said here on his part, which is, that in the situation in which he is placed at present he must not consult his own sentiments only, but

* The secret article of the treaty concluded with the Emperor in 1689. See *antè*, p. 271.

that the interest of the two nations which he governs must be the rule of his conduct; let him judge, then, whether it is agreeable to the interests of these two nations to unite with the Imperial dignity, and with the dominions which the Emperor possesses, the whole Spanish monarchy, as the king of England and the States General have engaged to do by the treaty which that prince mentioned to you; that this treaty must be considered as an engagement entered into during the war, with a view to afford each other mutual assistance, but that it would be acting at once contrary to the separate interests of the English and Dutch, so dear to the king of England, and contrary to those of all Europe, to think of observing literally, after the conclusion of peace, the condition of an offensive alliance; that the principal articles of that alliance were even annulled at the moment of the conclusion of the treaties of Ryswick; that, consequently, it ought not to prevent the king of England from taking such measures as are necessary to secure the preservation of peace; that it is very evident that it would render them absolutely useless to give the slightest intimation of them to the Emperor; that the general good must be preferred to special considerations, especially to such as would bind the king of England to steps contrary to justice, by fettering the rights of the legitimate heirs, contrary to the interests of the English and the Dutch and to those of all Europe.

In short, the only line of conduct which it seems to me he has at present to follow with respect to

the Emperor is not to renew the treaty with him. It seems evident from the eagerness of that prince to form a new alliance, and to enter into new engagements with the king of England, that he himself considers that the old ones have ceased by the conclusion of the peace.

With respect to the scruples about agreeing during the life of the king of Spain to the partition of the succession, I should myself entertain some, more than any body, if the measures which it shall be thought proper to take could produce any bad effect, divert his subjects from the obedience which they owe him, or even impair the health of that prince by the uneasiness which they would give him, if they came to his knowledge. Accordingly I have not given any order to my ambassador at Madrid to speak in any way whatever to his Catholic Majesty of the rights of my son to the succession, though the Emperor sent Count Harrach, almost a year ago, to require that the Archduke should be invited to Spain, and acknowledged as heir to the monarchy; but I see no bad effect that can arise from the secret measures which I should take with the king of England. They would be unknown to every body, and would not be disclosed till the moment when it should be necessary to manifest them for the general good of Europe, and to preserve the peace in circumstances so calculated to disturb it. This motive is so powerful, that trifling considerations ought not to be an obstacle; and besides, I do not see on what foundation they can be supported, when the precautions which I propose

remain enveloped in profound secrecy, and do no injury to his Catholic Majesty.

The Emperor who is uncle to that prince had not the same scruples in 1668. The feeble health of the king of Spain rendered it doubtful whether he could live; he was not even of an age to be married. But I then arranged with the Emperor, by a treaty on the partition of the succession, and this treaty was to continue in force six years after his Catholic Majesty should be married and have children. You may state this to the king of England; and, in truth, I am persuaded that that prince will easily get over this difficulty.

I see greater difficulties in the second part, which relates to the alternatives which he has proposed. You will tell him that they do not appear to me to be at all equal. In one he gives to the electoral prince of Bavaria the kingdom of Spain, the Indies, and the Low Countries, without any restriction. He reduces the share of my son to the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily and the towns of Tuscany, and allotting Milan to the Archduke, he secures to him the best and most considerable state of Italy. In the other, he proposes to give the kingdom of Spain to one of my grandsons; and besides the Low Countries, which I agree to detach from it, the king of England wishes also to take the places on the coasts of Africa, Port Mahon, and a place in the West Indies, so that he reduces a king of Spain to entire dependence on the English and the Dutch in the Mediterranean and the Indies. He would hinder the Spaniards from carrying on

their trade without the consent of those two nations; and on the other hand, he renders the Archduke, or, more properly speaking, the Emperor, absolute master of Italy, by assigning to him for his share the most considerable states of that part of Europe. The easy communication of the hereditary dominions of the House of Austria with Milan and the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, which it would besides possess, would furnish it with sufficient means soon to subject all the princes of Italy; and I am persuaded, that the king of England cannot believe that this arrangement would be agreeable to the rest of Europe.

It was with a view to prevent this great preponderance of the Emperor in Italy that I proposed to give Milan to the duke of Savoy. You may tell the king of England that I no longer insist on this proposal, seeing that he manifests so much repugnance to it; that, however, I am still persuaded that it is desirable that the Emperor should find in Italy a power able to oppose his designs and to hinder him from subjecting the other princes; and as it appears to me that the king of England, in proposing to give to the Emperor the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily and Milan, has chiefly in view to procure for that prince an equivalent for the kingdom of Spain and the Indies, which in that case would come to one of my grandsons, it would be possible to find another equivalent equally advantageous to the Emperor, and less dangerous to Italy. It would be to give, by this alternative, as has been said, the kingdom of Spain, the Indies,

and the other countries and places dependent on that monarchy to one of my grandsons, with the exception of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, which should be given to the Archduke, with the Low Countries and Milan to the electoral prince of Bavaria. The Dutch would likewise find, in this arrangement, security for their barrier, and the power of the Emperor in Italy would not be so formidable as it would be according to the proposal made to you by the king of England.

As for the other alternative, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, with the places of Tuscany, cannot be considered as a share with which my son can be contented, in lieu of all his rights. The examples of past times have too clearly shown what these dominions cost France; the little value they are of to her, and the difficulty of preserving them. If the duchy of Luxemburg were added to this alternative, as I proposed, the acquisition of it would appear so important for the security of the frontiers of my kingdom, and not for the purpose of uselessly carrying on war, on the Lower Rhine, that this alternative deserves to be closely examined. But in the way that the king of England proposes both, I do not see that I can choose either of them, and I have no other instructions to give you than to let him see the inconveniences which I remark in both, to enter with him into the consideration of expedients calculated to remove these difficulties; and in a word, to state my sentiments with the same sincerity that he manifests, and which I desire to show towards him, in order to attain

the object that I propose, being persuaded that he has the same desire to concur in preserving the peace of Europe.

On this occasion you are again to renew the assurances, which you have already given him, of my desire to maintain a perfectly good understanding with him. If this should once be established, as it would be after such a treaty, I can truly say that he would see that he would lose nothing in preferring my alliance to that of the House of Austria; and though he is certainly master in his own kingdom, yet some conjunctures happen in England, in which prompt assistance may be of great advantage. I hope that he may never have need of it, but, to use his own expression, "if he becomes French," his interests will also become mine.

Such are the sentiments which I entertain with respect to him, and, independently of the new treaties on which I might agree with him, it is my intention punctually to fulfil what I have promised him in the treaty of peace. On this foundation the residence of King James at St. Germains should be to him an assurance that that prince will not embark in any undertaking in England, rather than a subject of fear, lest he should favour those whose intentions he suspects. I am so thoroughly acquainted with King James, that I am persuaded he is very far from approving any of those enterprises which cannot even be thought of without horror. But even on a supposition which cannot be entertained, that that prince could be capable

of sanctioning them, I should be more easily informed of such a design, and could more promptly check the effects, when he is near me than if he were at a distance; in which case it would be more easy for him to conceal from me what he meant to do. Lord Portland must have informed his master, that when he intimated to me some days ago that he suspected some persons of intending to go to England, with an evil design, he was answered, by my orders, that he need only inform me where these individuals were, and I would immediately cause them to be arrested. Thus the safety of that prince is entirely consistent with the residence of King James at St. Germains; nay, it may even be affirmed, that it would not be so great, if I compelled him to withdraw to a distance from me; and this step has always seemed to me so contrary to honour, that I have invariably rejected all the proposals which have been made to me on that subject. The more I persist in this feeling, the more I feel myself bound to see that the safety of the king of England shall not be, in any manner, affected by it. This is the only object that he has in view when he requires that that prince shall be removed from St. Germains. Since I provide for this, I cannot believe that he will persist in asking me for a thing which I have never been disposed to promise, which seems to me contrary to my honour, which would not increase the security which the king of England ought to enjoy, and which, on the contrary, might diminish it.

You will tell him also what I write to you on

this subject, in answer to the language which he held at your last audience; that I have ordered you to speak to him about it, with the same frankness, and with the same sincerity, that he shows towards me; that, in short, knowing him to be so alive to honour and reputation, and perfectly aware of the points in which they should be made to consist, I am persuaded that I might, without running any risk, make himself judge, in his own cause, of what I can do on this occasion.

But at the same time that he requires of me something which I have never promised, I cannot help being surprised, that nothing is said to me, on his part, about executing what he has promised, not only by his ambassador, but also himself, to M. Lillieroot, with respect to the payment of the pension of the queen of England. This promise was unconditional, and there was no stipulation that it should be performed only if King James withdrew, since I never would entertain that proposal. Hence I cannot see what valid reason can be alleged on the part of the king of England for not performing what his ambassadors, in his name, and afterwards he himself, have promised. I will have the Earl of Portland spoken to on that point, and you will also speak of it to the king of England, conformably to what I now write to you.*

In conclusion, the only instructions which I have to give you, is to confirm what I have indicated to you by the preceding; that I cannot consent, in

* See *antè*, note, p. 172.

either of the alternatives, to the proposition of ceding any of the fortresses which I have in the Low Countries; that the cession of Port Mahon to the English or the Dutch, and the cession of a place in the West Indies to either of those two nations, appears to me to involve the ruin of the commerce of all the rest of Europe in the Mediterranean and in the Indies; and, in short, what you have to do at present is to lay before the king of England all the difficulties which I have indicated to you in this letter, the expedients which it appears to me might be found, and to give me an exact account of the sentiments of that prince on an affair of such importance. As I am persuaded that he means to act with good faith, and to unite himself as closely with me as he has assured you he desired, I do not doubt that this motive will serve as a rule for his conduct.

I have informed the Earl of Portland of what I write to you, and indeed this letter has, by my orders, been shown to him. I hear with pleasure that the king of England intends, at the return of this nobleman, to confide this negotiation entirely to him; and I am persuaded that it will not be owing to any want of care and good intention on his part if it does not succeed.

You will let me know whether the Earl of Jersey will be acquainted with it, when he comes as ambassador to my Court. It is very desirable that it should be concluded before his arrival. The affair, however, is so important, that nothing should be precipitated in order to bring it to a conclusion.

THE EARL OF PORTLAND TO WILLIAM III.

Paris, May 17. 1698.

The last letters which I received from your Majesty were of the 22d April—2d May, from Kensington, and I have not been in a hurry to write since my last of the 8th, because his Most Christian Majesty has been to Marly, and I had nothing at all to tell you. As he was to return on Thursday, which was the day before yesterday, I went to Versailles the same evening to the royal supper. He asked me if I intended to stop for the night, as he wished to speak with me the following morning. I went to his levee, and he made me come into his cabinet, and told me that Count Tallard had given him an account of an audience which your Majesty had granted him before your departure for Windsor, and of the alteration which you had made in the alternatives, and said that, though he was quite ready to arrange the affairs with your Majesty, he was obliged to repeat to me that there were certain things which he could not do; that, by the new proposals which your Majesty had made, they would leave but very little for the Dauphin as a compensation for the rights which he would be obliged to renounce; that they would render the Emperor too powerful in Italy, and would give the most to him who had the least right; and that, by ceding a place in the Indies to the English or to the Dutch, they would be rendered masters of those countries, though they did not pretend to any

thing more than the safety of their commerce, which they might secure by a treaty, as well as in the Mediterranean, the whole commerce of which they would take if they were masters of Minorca and of the places on the coast of Africa; that as for the secrecy of the negotiation he was wholly inclined to keep it, and that he was very glad of this issue, and to facilitate the matter; that your Majesty had told count Tallard that I should be his commissioner, on which he made many obliging remarks; and that with respect to the difficulty and delicacy which your Majesty had about partitioning the dominions of the king of Spain while he was still living, without the knowledge of the Emperor, there was no reason for it, because, at all events, it might be alleged to him that, after the death of the late king of Spain, the Emperor had done the same thing in the year 1668, by a secret treaty with France, of which he would desire an extract to be given me.

With regard to these points I replied, in the first place, with respect to the points to which he said he could not concede, there were much stronger reasons which hindered your Majesty from doing what was wished, since, independently of considerations of interest which your Majesty had, it was necessary that you should take care to do what the two nations judged would be evidently to their interests, for without that it would be impossible in future to make them engage heartily in a war into which they might be driven after the death of the king of Spain; to guarantee and secure what

it might be agreed upon to secure; that the power of the Emperor would not give us any umbrage, nor had the princes of Italy any reason to fear it, because Spain, or the person who should be its king, if united with the forces of France, would be sufficient to support them against any other power; and that, on the contrary, the jealousy which they felt of the Emperor would always attach them inviolably to the interests of this kingdom along with the Pope; that for the security of commerce it was well to make treaties, but that by the changes of time and of princes, who are mortal, there had often been infractions of treaties; that prudence required that we should have places to secure us without entirely depending upon the good faith of others, or upon papers; that with respect to the West Indies, Havannah was only a town, and that the islands had no mines, which were all on the continent; that what was asked for could be only a burden, and of no advantage except for the security above mentioned, just as Minorca in the Mediterranean; and that without that it was impossible for us to let a vessel winter or take shelter in that sea; and that as for Ceuta and Oran, those places hardly secured the passage of the Strait, and that I was surprised that your Majesty, as it appeared, had not spoken of Gibraltar. I told him that it was useless to speak of the restitution of Luxemburg, or of not increasing the barrier; that those countries must be put in a condition to subsist of themselves, and sufficiently to cover the States; and that,

though the Emperor had made a separate treaty with France, it ought not to be an example to your Majesty; that your wish to unite closely with his Most Christian Majesty, and the design of securing the peace of Europe, must be the strongest reasons to make you enter into these engagements; that I. confessed that this treaty of 1668 might always serve to answer the reproaches that might be made; and I thanked the King for what he had said of myself in particular. He then ordered M. de Torcy to let me read the answer which he made to Count Tallard. He told me that his Majesty had likewise spoken to him of the removal of King James. I replied, that he saw that, conformably to the wish which he had expressed, I had not said any more on that subject, nor of many other things, but that I deemed it a direct contradiction and an impossibility that any thing should be done till those stumbling-blocks were removed; and information has been given me from St. Germains, that they had been deliberating there whether it would not be better to retire to Avignon. I do not know the reason or the result of this deliberation. His Majesty told me, with a smile, that your Majesty had jested about the proposal of giving Milan to the duke of Savoy, and that you said, Sire, that you were astonished why he interested himself for the Duke, since, assuredly, on the first opportunity he would play one of his usual tricks; at which the King laughed heartily.

Count Tallard has expressed his satisfaction

at the treatment which he received at the last audience which he had of your Majesty. He writes that you had said to him, that if you entered into these measures you would become quite French, on which the King said, "In that case his interests must be mine. I hope that he will never have need of my assistance, but on every occasion you may assure him that he may depend upon it." He then told me that he wished me to write to your Majesty, that he had made an offer to the king of Spain of troops for the defence of Ceuta and Oran, of ships for conveying them, and of every thing necessary for the defence of those places *; that I should beg you not to feel any jealousy on this ground; that it was only to prevent those places, so important at this juncture, from falling into the hands of the Moors.

He likewise informed me of the change which he had proposed in the alternatives, of which I shall not speak, because Count Tallard will have already communicated it to your Majesty; I only say that I saw that his Majesty refused to give us for our neighbour the Emperor, whom he

* "The French ambassador has not only offered verbally, but presented a letter from his master, written with his own hand to the king of Spain, to offer him what ships, galleys, and landmen he shall think necessary to relieve Ceuta, and beat away the Moors. The proposal has been lately debated in the Council, but I do not hear any thing is yet resolved, though the place be daily more and more pressed, and they take here very little care to assist or reinforce the garrison." — *The Hon. Alex. Stanhope to Mr. Yard. Madrid*, May 21. 1698.

had himself made us apprehend as so formidable. They have not given me a copy of this new proposal, although they had promised to do so, probably that my courier may not bring it first.

I am fully persuaded, Sire, that if your Majesty remains firm on all the matters in question you will be satisfied in most, if not in all of them. I believe that they are really desirous of forming an union with you.

I have just had the honour to receive the letter which your Majesty wrote me from Windsor on the 2d—12th of this month, with the two enclosures of the Pensionary*; in accordance with which I shall proceed after I have had leisure to read them over again, for they are very long. I again entreat you not to give way too soon, but to show them firmness together with the good reception which you give to Count Tallard, of which he speaks in such high terms.

I forgot to tell your Majesty that the king of France has several times said to me, "If we, the king of England and myself, perfectly understand each other, the rest of Europe will follow our sentiments." On Monday next I shall have my audience of leave, after which I shall make as much haste as possible. The King would not have me go to Marly before the 5th of June, when all the fountains will be finished; but since your Majesty has declared that the affair shall pass through my hand, I hope that you will yourself hasten my

* They were not found in the Portland Papers.

departure, if you wish it to be terminated in earnest. After my audience of leave I must have twenty audiences of the princes and princesses; then I must go to visit and receive the visits of the ministers; and then taking leave of the most important personages, which I cannot possibly avoid doing, will take me a week, so that, if I occupy ever so little time in seeing the gardens and seats in the environs, more time will be spent than I could wish. I have been to Fontainebleau: it is by nature a fine place, and would please your Majesty; it is admirably situated for the chase. The rocks are very difficult of ascent; but so many routes have been made through them, that you may follow the hounds every where. On my return I saw Vaux, whose garden and park are very beautiful.

It appears to me that the Parliament makes very little progress in business: I do not know how they can flatter themselves with enjoying such great security, while they do not continue here the projected reduction, and keep so great a number of troops in actual service.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, May 19. 1698.

I send to the Marquis de Torcy a journal of what has passed in Parliament; I shall therefore say no more about it than to observe that the civil list is not mentioned, and that there are speculators who believe that the opposition which the

King meets with at present to his will in the lower House, does not come from the country members but from the party of Mr. Montague, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who has always been at the head of the Court party, and who is said to desire to force his master to grant at present certain favours to his cabal, because he apprehends that, on the dissolution of this Parliament, according to the triennial bill, he will lose his influence in future if he does not obtain it among the members who will compose the new Parliament, and the King will not consent to what he desires.

The visit to Holland still seems to be certain. The English are much annoyed at it, but it will certainly take place.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, May 10—20. 1698.

I have not hitherto any further answer from Count Tallard, nor any letter from the Earl of Portland, at which I wonder much. I begin to suspect that the French are for dragging on this important negotiation. So long as it is not terminated in one way or another, it will not, in my opinion, be advisable that the elector of Bavaria should send anybody to Vienna, though the Imperialists would be glad of it at present, as Count Aversberg has told me, and requested I would co-operate towards it. He told me, at the same time, there

were now assurances from Spain, that the King's will was in favour of the Archduke, and that promise has been made to old Count Harrach, to give an authentic copy of it, to bring with him to the Emperor; which is directly the reverse of what the elector of Bavaria thinks he is assured of, that the will is in favour of his son. I think little reliance is to be placed on either; but this is certain, that as long as this negotiation is dragged on with France, it is better there should be no convention between the Emperor and Bavaria relative to the succession.

According to the accounts received from Sweden by the last mail, it seems certain that the treaty with France will be concluded, so that I expect but little advantage from what may have been agreed upon with Lillieroot. I send you herewith a letter from my resident Robinson *, in which he proposes to me a plan for a compliment to the ministers, to which all the Allied Powers should contribute. I consent to furnish my share. I believe, nevertheless, that when the treaty is once concluded between France and Sweden, we have no great things to expect from the latter power,

* John Robinson, afterwards Bishop of London. He went to Sweden as domestic chaplain to the English ambassador at that court. In the absence of the latter, he transacted his diplomatic business, and with so much credit, that he was successively appointed secretary, resident, envoy-extraordinary, and at length ambassador. He remained at Stockholm from 1683 to 1708.

and that, in that case, our money would be ill bestowed.

WILLIAM III. TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

Kensington, May 12—22. 1698.

Yesterday evening I received your despatches of the 17th, and Count Tallard has been with me this morning and told me nearly the same thing which you have written to me.

The new proposals are, that the Emperor should have the Low Countries and the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily; the son of the Elector, Milan; and a son of the Dauphin, Spain and the Indies. I told him plainly that I found this proposal the most disadvantageous to us of the three alternatives, and that it did not at all suit us to have the Emperor for our neighbour; upon which he proposed—protesting, however, that it was only his own idea—that the Low Countries might be left to the son of the Elector, and Milan to the Emperor, on which we entered into long argument, too long in fact to be repeated here, and which can be of no use to you; but I concluded by saying that, with respect to the first two alternatives, I persisted in what I had said in our last conversation, and that I thought there would be less difficulty in agreeing to the alternative, by which Spain, the Indies, and the Low Countries should come to the son of the elector of Bavaria, than to the other, and that it seemed

that the greatest difference was the duchy of Luxemburg, which was so absolutely necessary to us, and was not now so important to France as to us. To this he would by no means agree, and entered into a long argument upon the situation of that place, to which it was not difficult to reply. He insisted strongly that in such a case the share of the Dauphin, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, was too inconsiderable, and urged me very much if there were no means to abate anything; but I remained firm, persisting in what I had said. I believe that the intention of France, at the bottom, is only to treat on those alternatives, to have Spain and the Indies for a son of the Dauphin, and that the other has only been brought forward to see what I would say. I confess that I foresee so many difficulties with regard to the security for our commerce, that I do not know how we can agree.

You must make many compliments on my part to his Most Christian Majesty, for all the obliging things which he has said to you respecting me, stating how grateful I am for them, and the desire I have to be in perfect union and good understanding with him.

With respect to King James, Count Tallard has repeated the same thing on the point of honour, and that by remaining at St. Germains, he was as it were watched. I told him that it seemed to be an absolute contradiction to be in perfect union while he remained in France. He replied only by shrugging his shoulders. I am

still persuaded that if we agree respecting the Spanish succession, this affair will fall to the ground. I forgot to tell you that, in regard to the form, we have determined that it was too early to give any intimation of this negotiation to the Emperor till we are more agreed between ourselves respecting the conditions.

I hope that this will be the last letter which you will receive from me at Paris, though I believe that you will have to wait till the time which his Most Christian Majesty has intimated to you, to go with him to Marly, and I doubt whether you will have finished your visit before then. Since you have not written me that you had seen Madame de Maintenon, I suppose that you have not. * I hope, therefore, that you will be able to see her at Marly, since I should be very sorry that you should not see her before your departure. I long for your return more than you can believe.

COUNT TALLARD TO LOUIS XIV.

London, May 22. 1698.

I have just returned from Kensington, where I was for more than an hour and a half in the cabinet of the king of England. I gave an account, Sire, to that prince of what your Majesty did me the honour to command me respecting the repugnance which he felt to enter with your Majesty

* See *ante*, note, p. 189.

into a treaty, relative to the succession of his Catholic Majesty without the knowledge of the Emperor, and the difficulty which he had to agree to the partition of the dominions of a prince who was still alive.

The obstacle which arose from the last article has been entirely removed; and as for the other, he told me that as Holland was to take part in it, it would be very difficult for the matter to be kept so entirely secret that it would not come, sooner or later, to the Emperor; that he therefore believed himself obliged to behave towards him in a friendly manner; that he agreed that it would be impossible to conclude a treaty if we determined to act in concert with that prince, but that, when matters should be a little more advanced, and we should clearly see the conclusion, he thought that he might then be informed of what was passing.

I replied, that as matters did not appear to me to be yet so forward, it seemed to me that it was useless to dwell at present on that point; and that, since he was persuaded that nothing should be communicated to the Emperor till matters were nearly settled, we had only to proceed to what your Majesty ordered me to say to him on the subject of the two alternatives, which I had had the honour to propose to him on your part.

I pointed out to him the inequality which existed between the one and the other; that he consented that the Low Countries should remain annexed to Spain, with the Indies and the other islands and places of that monarchy, saving the exceptions

made when the electoral prince of Bavaria was in question; and that he retrenched, not only the Low Countries when a son of the Dauphin was in question, but that he also insisted that the barrier should be strengthened, on the possession of some places in the Indies and of Port Mahon; and, that when he placed the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily in the hands of the Dauphin, he cut off the duchy of Luxemburg, which was the principal motive which had induced your Majesty to desist from the kingdom of Spain and the Indies, in favour of one of your grandsons.

I might fill two quires of paper here if I were to relate to your Majesty, word for word, all that was said on that subject. I shall therefore confine myself to three principal points—1. that he expressed his belief that your Majesty had only required the duchy of Luxemburg, as supposing that it would occasion the rejection of the alternative in which it was included; 2. that he did not conceal from me, that the Dutch, and he himself, were of opinion that it was entirely for the interest of their commerce that Spain and the Indies should be in the hands of the Electoral Prince; 3. that he did not consider Luxemburg as a matter so important for the security of our frontiers as we imagined.

I replied to the first article, that there was much more reason to believe that his demand for the extension of the barrier was to exclude one of the grandsons of your Majesty from the kingdom of Spain; and I begged him to recollect the day

when the Allies had gained the battle of Taverne over Marshal Crequi, and when they were able to come to Verdun, in order that he might judge of the importance of Luxemburg for the security of our frontier; that what I observed on that subject was, not to give him any information, because I did not doubt that he was as fully persuaded as myself of what I was saying to him, but to let him see that I was aware of them. In spite of all I could say to him, he persisted in the same alternatives which I had the honour to mention to your Majesty in my last letter.

I then proposed to him the Low Countries, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, for the Archduke, and Milan for the elector of Bavaria. I added to this proposal the reasons which your Majesty had for desiring that Milan should not be added to the two other states above mentioned, in the hands of the Archduke, and that this was the reason which had obliged you to speak of the duke of Savoy, and to propose now the Low Countries for the Archduke, instead of Milan.

He replied, that the Dutch would never consent to see the Emperor master of the Spanish Low Countries, and that this would likewise not be agreeable to the English.

Upon this I made a proposal to him, of my own suggestion, declaring that I had no orders from your Majesty. It was, to give the Low Countries, the kingdom of Naples and Sicily to the Electoral Prince, and Milan to the Archduke. He replied, that unless the Low Countries were supported by

Spain, it was impossible that what is called the barrier could be considered adequate for the security of the States General. I replied, that, in truth, the Dauphin would have a very poor share, if, being son of the elder, and the natural heir, he should have only a part of the dominions of Spain in Italy, while the other part, which was the richest and most considerable, should be in the hands of the Archduke. He replied, that the kingdom of Naples had been always much more esteemed than Milan, and that the kingdom of Sicily was added into the bargain. I did not think proper to speak of Sardinia and of the island of Corsica *, which are both on this side of Sicily, because it appeared to me that it would be entering into the acceptance of the alternative distinct from the duchy of Luxemburg.

He explained himself with respect to the Havannah in the Indies, and still insisted on Port Mahon, besides Ceuta and Oran. I told him all that might be said on the subject of the Havannah, with more knowledge perhaps of the commerce of the Indies than your Majesty may believe, but I had taken care to inform myself on the subject before I left Paris. He always answered that if a son of the Dauphin had Spain, it was necessary to make the English and the Dutch secure respecting their commerce; that this was the natural interest of those two nations; and that the Havannah

* Sic in the cypher. This isle belonged to the Genoese. — *Note of M. de Torcy.*

was not upon the Continent, of which the Spaniards would still remain masters. I replied that this was true, but that if the Dutch and the English, were masters of that place, neither the Spaniards nor any other nation could go to the Indies without taking one of their passports; because it was an *entrepôt* where it was necessary to touch, and a place at the entrance of the Bahama Channel, and consequently a necessary passage; besides, it was the best place in the Indies, and also the best fortified. He agreed as to its value, and told me that all this would cause great difficulties.

I then returned to the alternative, asking him whether he had anything new to say to me on the subject. He replied that he had not.

I then proceeded to the subject of King James. I told him that I had had the honour to acquaint your Majesty with the very terms which he had used in telling me that he should become a *Frenchman;* and I reported to him the same with which your Majesty had charged me, viz. that in that case, his interests would become yours; adding the offer of everything that depended upon you, in all cases, and in all conjunctures, in which he might have need of it. He told me that your Majesty had had the goodness to express yourself in the same terms to the Earl of Portland, and that he duly appreciated it.

I afterwards told him all that your Majesty had commanded me to state respecting the residence of King James at St. Germains, the reasons which your Majesty had for believing that it was for his

interest that he should remain there, and that in short your Majesty thought that your honour was concerned in it. I added the same words which are in your despatch, that is, Sire, that knowing him to be so scrupulous where true glory was concerned, and so good a judge in what it consisted, your Majesty believed that he should risk nothing by taking himself for judge in his own cause.

He replied, that there were expedients which would reconcile all this; that he should not be a good judge, according to the sentiments of your Majesty, on this point; that he would depend on the opinion, not only of all the princes of Europe, but even of any private person whom your Majesty should please, to see whether the strict union in question and the residence of King James at St. Germains were compatible with each other; and then, he reiterated with a smile the same terms, that he would in time become a *Frenchman;* that in truth he was weary of continually hearing of enterprises against his person; for that as soon as one was put down another was concocted; and that the Irish were at the bottom of it. Here he stopped.

I told him what your Majesty had acquainted me with, your having informed the Earl of Portland of the two men whom you had offered to get arrested: Lord Portland had already informed him of it. I did not think fit to enter upon the expedients which he spoke of, respecting the removal of King James.

I then returned, half in jest, to the subject of the alternative. I told him that your Majesty,

who could not believe that he would not consent except to what he had told me, would have a bad opinion of me if I had no new proposal to make to you on his part. He replied also by a smile, but he said nothing more, so that, Sire, we only endeavoured, on both sides, to feel our way in the whole conversation that I had with him.

Your Majesty will see better than any one what is best for your interest on the subject of the negotiation which is commenced, and the expedients which may be agreeable to you: if Luxemburg, with the fortifications demolished, with Sicily, the kingdom of Naples, Sardinia, the island of Corsica, and the places on the coast of Tuscany, were sufficient for the alternative which concerns the Dauphin personally; if, in case they will not raze Luxemburg, nor touch the frontier of Flanders, Pampeluna, the remainder of the kingdom of Navarre, which already belongs, by a right, which the English, who do not acknowledge the Pope *, cannot dispute, Fuentarabia, and St. Sebastian would indemnify you for Luxemburg; if, in the alternative by which it is proposed to place a son of the Dauphin on the throne of Spain, your Majesty would separate Sardinia, which is nearer to Italy, and less useful than Port Mahon, with Ceuta and Oran, and the Philippines, in order to give them some advantage in the New World, without, however, its being decided upon. I shall content

* There is a mistake in the cypher, which appears to be an omission. — *Note of M. de Torcy.*

myself with waiting for your orders, and execute them in the best manner I can.

But what I have the honour to tell your Majesty is, that though it is true that England is much exhausted, and that it owes more than two hundred millions, the repayment of which is assigned on almost all the funds from which money can be derived, except on the general excise, to which they have not yet been brought to consent, and though the nation is not submissive to the King, and though certainly he would not be able to urge it into a new war if it were not absolutely persuaded that its interests imperatively called upon it to begin afresh, I must tell your Majesty a thing which is equally certain. It is, Sire, that they consider the partition of the succession of the king of Spain as something in which they must take a part. Every body spoke of it in the same manner in this country when it was known that that prince was dying. They conceive that their commerce and its interests are at stake, and that it would be ruined if your Majesty were in possession of the Indies and Cadiz.

The distinctions which may be made on the subject cannot be known by a whole people. Thus, Sire, without examining their resources, you may rely upon it, that they would resolve on a war, if it were suggested to them that your Majesty desires to render yourself master of the countries which I have just named, and if the king of Spain were to die before a treaty has been made; and, be persuaded at the same time, that the king of

England, who meets with much opposition at present, and if peace continues, will meet with yet more in the next Parliament, for which infinite intrigues are already carrying on in the counties, will be able to draw the last penny from their pocket on the day when there shall be war against France; because they see, and he holds out to them, nothing else than to give what is necessary either to defend themselves or to be subjugated. And I must add, that they would meet with some credit, because the Parliament here has paid, in good faith, all the taxes and exchequer bills, which would have caused a general confusion if the war had continued, for they could no longer be negotiated under fifty or fifty-four per cent. loss.

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, May 13—23. 1698.

Yesterday Count Tallard had a long audience of me, and proposed a new alternative, viz. that the Spanish Low Countries should be ceded to the Emperor or the Archduke, together with the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, Milan to the elector of Bavaria's son, and Spain and the Indies to one of the Dauphin's sons, as in the preceding one. I replied, that this proposal pleased me less than the former, and I did not think it our interest to have the Emperor for a neighbour. He thereupon said, the Emperor might have Milan and the elector of Bavaria's son the Spanish

Low Countries; but protested that this proposal was merely his own, and that he had no orders to make it. We then got into a long discussion upon the whole business, which would be too long to relate, and is not material; but I concluded by saying that I thought there would be less difficulty on our side in agreeing on that alternative, by which Spain, the Indies, and the Spanish Low Countries were to come to the elector of Bavaria's son, than to any other; for the principal difference appeared to me to be, whether the duchy of Luxemburg should be dismembered, to which we could never agree; and that the other alternative would bring us into infinite difficulties how to secure our commerce in the Mediterranean and the West Indies. He spoke in high terms of the importance of Luxemburg for France (which I could easily refute), and insisted that the Dauphin's portion, the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, was too small. I replied, that it was so considerable, when added to the great power of France, that it might make the whole world tremble; and, in short, persisted in what I had said in the preceding audience, of which I have given you an account. With regard to the form, we both agreed it was too early to inform the Imperial Court of this negotiation till we were agreed about the principal conditions. He said he would give the king, his master, a suitable account of our conversation, and communicate to me his answer. I had received letters the preceding evening from the Earl of Portland, who had had a private audience of the

king of France, who had said the very same as Count Tallard, and read over the letter he meant to write him, and notified his intention to offer the king of Spain assistance for Oran and Ceuta, in ships, galleys, or troops; and that he gave us information of it, in order that we might take no umbrage, nor be alarmed, for he had no other intention than to prevent these places from falling into the hands of the Moors. I therefore told Count Tallard I could not help saying this offer would certainly alarm us, but I hoped this assistance was not intended to be forced upon the Spaniards. He said it was not. I replied that I scarce believed Spain would accept these offers. This circumstance appears suspicious, and merits reflection as to what further measures it may be necessary to take.

LOUIS XIV. TO COUNT TALLARD.

Sir, Versailles, May 26. 1698.

I have received your letter of the 19th of this month, and immediately expect your answer to that which I wrote you on the 16th to be able to judge, at length, of the reliance which I may place on the sentiments of the king of England. The more his power is limited by the Parliament, the greater is it his interest to unite closely with me. The other powers propose alliances to him only to draw subsidies from him:

he cannot expect any assistance from them, even if he has need of it; and besides, the Parliament deprives him of the means of giving them the same subsidies with which that prince supported the league during the last war. He knows, on the contrary, that by entering into engagements with me, they bind him to nothing but what he is able to do, and that, if my assistance becomes necessary to him, he may be sure of finding it always ready.

I know that he has no reason to place the same reliance upon the disposition of the House of Austria towards him; and that if the face of affairs in England should change, he would find but few resources in the alliance which he has always had with that House. I will tell you also, and you will make such use of it as you shall believe to be the most suitable, that the partisans of the Emperor in Spain propose to him now to apply to the Parliament, rather than to the king of England, to secure the assistance of the nation against the time when he shall support his pretensions to the succession of his Catholic Majesty. It will soon be seen whether the ministers of the Emperor in England will really take some steps to conciliate the minds of the nation. If they pursue this line of conduct, it is impossible that it should not be justly suspected by the king of England; and that prince must see that he can depend on the alliance of the House of Austria only so long as the Emperor shall believe that it suits his interests.

You have informed me, in one of your preceding letters, that a Frenchman named Bussy has been

arrested in England, as suspected by the government. His relations affirm that he is gone there only because he was married there; that he possesses some property in the country; and that he never was implicated in any intrigue. You will inquire into the truth, and if it seems to you that he is innocent, and you can demand his liberty without giving pain to the king of England by this step, I permit you to do so.*

WILLIAM III. TO THE PENSIONARY HEINSIUS.

Kensington, May 17—27. 1698.

I much doubt whether the convention made with Lillieroot will be able to prevent the alliance between Sweden and France. There is every appearance that it is already concluded. It is certain that Piper, who has the most credit, is entirely devoted to France.

Nothing has happened since my last, relative to the great work of the negotiation concerning the succession. I think the regulating and securing of the commerce, as well in the Mediterranean as in the West Indies, will be of infinite difficulty;

* "M. de Bussy was acquitted upon his indictment for coming out of France without leave. The point that brought him off was his being sent away by order of council, from whence it was argued that he did not go voluntarily into France. He might have had another indictment laid upon him, for being in arms in Ireland; but that Mr. Baker omitted." *Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury.* June 11. o. s.

and I find myself but little instructed in what Secretary de Wilde has said to you in this matter: and even were one agreed with France about it, I do not well see how to reconcile the interests of England and the Republic, which will be no small difficulty.

APPENDIX.

I. GOURVILLE, p. 158.

JEAN Hérault, who took the name of Gourville from an estate which he purchased in 1656, was born at la Rochefoucauld on the 11th of July, 1625. At the age of seventeen he entered the service of the Abbé de la Rochefoucauld as valet de chambre. From this humble position he rose to be the friend and confidant of the greatest noblemen, and, on several occasions, the secret plenipotentiary of Louis XIV. "Il était né," says Madame de Motteville, "pour les grandes choses, avide d'emplois, touché du plaisir de plaire et de bien faire; il avait beaucoup de cœur, de génie pour l'intrigue; il savait marcher parfaitement par les chemins raboteux et tortueux, comme par les droits; il persuadait presque toujours ce qu'il voulait qu'on crut, et trouvait les moyens de parvenir à tout ce qu'il voulait." All the contemporary memoirs and the letters of Madame de Sévigné confirm this testimony, and agree in allowing him singular merit and excellent qualities. St. Simon with his masterly pen completes by a few strokes the portrait of that strange personage. "Il avait été laquais de M. de la Rochefoucauld, qui lui trouvant de l'esprit en voulut faire quelque chose. Il s'en trouva si bien pour ses affaires domestiques et pour ses menées aussi, à quoi il était fort propre, qu'il s'en servit pour les intrigues les plus considérables de ces temps là. Elles le firent bientot connaître à M. le Prince, à qui M. de la Rochefoucauld le donna, et il demeura toujours depuis dans la maison de Condé. Gourville, par son esprit, son grand sens, les amis

considérables qu'il s'était faits, était devenir un personnage; l'intimité des ministres l'y maintint, celle de M. Fouquet l'enrichit à l'excès. L'autorité qu'il acquit et qu'il se conserva à l'hôtel de Condé, il était plus maître de tout que les deux princes de Condé qui eurent en lui toute leur confiance, tout cela ensemble le soutint toujours dans une véritable considération. Il n'oublia pas en aucun temps qu'il devait tout à M. de la Rochefoucauld, en ce qu'il avait été dans sa jeunesse; et quoique naturellement assez brutal, il ne le méconnut jamais, quoique mêlé toute sa vie avec la plus illustre compagnie. Le Roi même le traitait toujours avec distinction. Ce qui est prodigieux, il avait secrètement épousé une des trois sœurs de M. de la Rochefoucauld. Il était continuellement chez elle à l'hotel de la Rochefoucauld, mais toujours, et avec elle-meme, en ancien domestique de la maison. M. de la Rochefoucauld et toute sa famille le savaient, et presque tout le monde; mais à les voir on ne s'en serait jamais aperçu. . . . C'était un fort grand et gros homme, qui avait été bien fait, et qui conserva sa bonne mine, une santé parfaite, et sa tête entière jusqu'à la fin." Gourville, who had acted a great part in the administration of Fouquet, was obliged to go into banishment for several years to escape the prosecution which Colbert instituted against him, on account of the share he had taken in squandering the public money, towards the end of his life, which was a long one. He died July 7th, 1703. At the age of 78 he wrote his memoirs. It is a very interesting book, and written in a very agreeable style. A few passages, which are here extracted, throw some light on the character of William III. and account, in a certain degree, for the interest which that prince took in him.

"Towards the beginning of the year 1665, I went to the Hague, where I made some stay. M. de Montbas, who belonged to the court of the Prince of Orange, presented

me to him, and I had the honour to pay my respects to his highness for the first time. After that I was often with him and the ladies at the Hague. But as it is the custom in that country for the ladies to retire at 8 o'clock, the Prince of Orange then went to M. Montbas and M. Dodick, and to other houses to play, till half past nine in the evening. He always did me the honour to make me one of his party.

"1668. I went to the Hague, where I was very agreeably received by the Prince of Orange, who began to speak to me about business, and, as it seemed to me, with much good sense. One day, when standing with him, at the end of his gallery, and the conversation turning on M. de Witt, I said that everybody was persuaded that the latter was much on his guard, to hinder him (the prince) from establishing himself in the authority which his brothers had had, and that, in the end, they would find it very difficult to agree together. At that moment word was brought that M. de Witt and M. de Gent, who had been his tutor, were come to see him. As he went to receive them, I followed the Prince, who began by showing M. de Witt much courtesy. On going away, I looked stedfastly at the Prince, as the others were not able to see me. He afterwards told me that he very well understood what I wished to intimate to him, and we agreed that it was necessary he should act in this manner, till the time should arrive which would allow him to act otherwise; I said, smiling, that he knew a good deal for his age.

"In the month of March, 1681, his Majesty thought fit to send me to Germany, to the Dukes of Zelle and Hanover, that I might endeavour to break up a meeting which was to take place at Humelingen, in the country of Munster, where the presence of the Prince of Orange was expected, and, in case the meeting should take place, I was to attend it, in order that I might give his Majesty an account

of what should take place there; and, if possible, at the same time find means to have a conference with the Prince of Orange on the present state of affairs. * * *

"Having arrived at the Hague pretty late in the evening, Count d'Avaux, at that time the king's ambassador, did me the honour to lodge me in his house. I there received innumerable visits, especially from several of the principal attendants of the Prince of Orange, who had not for a long time set their foot in the residence of the ambassador. The Prince of Orange was expected to arrive in the evening. The following day, at noon, I went to him, and found him in his saloon, with the Prince d'Auvergne at his side, and a great number of persons present. I took my place on the other side, and the prince gave me so gracious a reception that every body was surprised. Then coming close to me, he said to me, in a low whisper, 'I am much despised in your country;' upon which I took the liberty to draw near to him, and whispered in return, 'Pardon me, they do you much more honour, for they greatly fear you.' He could not help smiling, which made the company suppose that he would be glad to speak to me, or, perhaps, because it was time to go to dinner, every one about us withdrew; and having detained me the Prince made me sit down to table next to him.

"He told me that in the evening, immediately after his arrival, M. Dykwelt had waited upon him to tell him that I had come to the Hague, in order to attend the meeting at Humelingen, and that he had spoken to him of it as of a matter which might give him pain; but that he had answered: 'I shall be very glad to see him, he is one of my friends, and we shall certainly have much enjoyment at the meeting.'

"I believe that, in order strictly to recal what passed at this interview, I cannot do better than copy the letter which I did myself the honour to write to the king, from

the Hague, on the 18th of March 1681: — 'Sire, I learnt yesterday morning that the Prince of Orange was to arrive in the evening; and two or three persons of his household, who call themselves my friends, assured me that he would be very glad to see me. Some of those who saw him on his arrival, asserted the same thing. I went to him at noon, with M. de Montpouillant, and found him in his saloon with many persons who paid their court to him. Prince d'Auvergne was there also. He received me so graciously that everybody seemed surprised.

"'After the Prince d'Auvergne had left, he told me that he should have taken it much amiss if I had gone away without seeing him, but that he believed he was indebted for my visit to the contrary wind. In fact, I had spoken to that effect when I came; the prince then added that whatever might have been written or said to him, concerning my voyage, he was very glad to see me, and said that, on the preceding evening M. Dykwelt (who is much in his favour), having represented to him that he ought to contrive that I should not go to Humelingen, he had answered that I was one of his friends, and that he was certain that I should not hinder him from taking his stay when he went to the chace; but that I might very likely give a supper in return; and all this he said with a cheerful air.

"'I answered in the best manner I was able: after which he asked me whether it was true, as he had been told, that your Majesty had an aversion towards him. I answered that I believed I knew enough to be able to assure him that your Majesty had an esteem for his person, and that it was for him to know, whether he had taken any steps which might have displeased your Majesty. He said, smiling, that he believed he had done nothing which could merit either the esteem or the aversion of your Majesty, but that he had always ardently desired to be able

to persuade you that he wished for the honour of being in your good graces.

"'He was here told that dinner was served, and, having asked me if I would dine with him, he went into the dining room, made me sit down beside him, and almost always spoke to me upon general subjects. He again reproached me at table for having seen him only by accident.

"'After dinner he went into the drawing room, and asked me to go in with him for a moment, and I accordingly followed him. He began by telling me that I should hear from the Duke of Hanover how much he had wished for me to be with him when he went thither; and, although he was very young when I had left him, he still retained the same friendship for me; and that he should be very glad if I would be to him what I had been to the Princes of Brunswick, who had highly commended the manner in which I had acted towards them. I replied, smiling, that I was not sure that I knew him as well as those princes, and that I must take the liberty of telling him that he had been represented to me as a man who was very reserved in his manner, and who tried to take advantage of everybody; and that, supposing this to be the case, I could not possibly have much intercourse with him; but that I would see, during the stay which he should make at Humelingen whether I could know his royal highness by my own observation; for that, even in his youth, I had entertained a high opinion of him.

"'He began to laugh, and said, it was true enough he could not be open with everybody, but that he would speak to me in such a manner as would convince me that he distinguished me from the generality. He added that he was excessively vexed at the bad offices which had been rendered him with your Majesty, and which had excited your aversion towards him. I assured him that your Majesty did not entertain such a sentiment. He replied that he

would believe that it was as I said, though he did not quite think it possible to be true; and requested that I would do him the favour to tell the same to your Majesty, and to be assured that in good faith he ardently desired to be able to please your Majesty.

" 'I replied that, if the princes of Brunswick had spoken to me as he did I should know well enough what answer to give them. He urged me to speak to him as I should to those princes; and accordingly I replied that I should not fail on a like occasion to let them know that it was impossible to persuade your Majesty with words, whilst a contrary line of conduct was pursued; and that I should take the liberty of counselling them not to think of holding such language when they were in the act of siding with all Europe against your Majesty; that I begged his pardon for the freedom with which I had spoken to him, but that he must remember he had forced me to it. He replied that, on the contrary, he was much obliged to me for the candour with which I had spoken; but that matters were not exactly as I stated, though it was true that he could not fail to interest himself in every thing which concerned the preservation of the States. I replied sharply, he need only add that it was the interest of the States always to oppose themselves to every wish of your Majesty; and that I must again take the liberty of telling him that though such might be his advice, it would perhaps not always be that of the States.

" 'He at once entered upon the design which it was said your Majesty had to acquire universal monarchy. I answered that when a man like him spoke of the design of universal monarchy, I had nothing to do but to make my bow — I said this with an air of pleasantry, which I clearly perceived did not displease him; that after the manner in which your Majesty had made peace, or rather

had given peace to all Europe, there was no use in saying any thing more about universal monarchy.

"'He replied that he was well assured that your Majesty always did that which was most advantageous to yourself, and that this was the rule of all your actions; that, in making peace, you had thought it well to disunite all the powers which were against you, that you might, in time gain one party; and that I had confessed to him that I was in the country for the execution of one part of this plan.

"'I answered that my only object was to cross his design, which was, to engage, and unite all Europe to make war against your Majesty. He said he should look upon this as a pleasantry, but that if it were meant in good earnest, he could not believe that I should speak to him so unreservedly as I had promised; that he thought of nothing in the world but the continuation of peace, as the greatest good, not only for the States, but for all Europe; that it would give him the greatest pleasure if this would content your Majesty, but that he must candidly tell me, that such did not appear to be the whole of your Majesty's design, from the meetings which were held by the Chambers of Metz and Alsace.

"'My reply was that it was plain he was more than a match for me, and that I perceived too late that I had entered too openly into these matters with him, considering that I had merely received permission to appear before him, as I was anxious to pay my respects to him; and that I should find it extremely awkward to excuse myself to your Majesty for the openness with which I had spoken, and that I entreated him to excuse my saying any more, in order to save me a yet greater embarrassment. He rejoined that he saw clearly enough that I said all this in order to avoid speaking to him of those meetings.

I replied that he pressed me too closely, and that I thought the best thing I could do was to be silent. This conclusion was more serious than all the rest of the conversation; and I saw clearly that he observed it. He said, smiling, that he must again beg me to tell him what I thought he could do to justify all he had said to me of his desire to be on good terms with your Majesty. I replied with the same air, that I imagined he had nothing to do but to act exactly contrary to what he had hitherto done; and that, since he commanded me, I would tell him, by way of terminating the conversation, that he was young, endowed with fine and noble qualities, in an excellent position, and in expectation of the crown of England, where perhaps he was sufficiently esteemed to meet with great obstacles to his plans, and that, if he would place some confidence in my words, I should not hesitate to inform him, that there was no person in the world who had so much need of the friendship of your Majesty as he had; that I again entreated his royal highness to rest assured that he could not gain this by mere words, but that he could at the least add in what way he would show it to your Majesty; and that I would give him as much time as he wished, to reflect upon what he had forced me to say.

"'He thanked me, and replied, that he was persuaded of the truth of what I had said; that he would consider what he could do to please your Majesty; and begged that I, on my part, would think of some overtures which I conceived he could make.

"'I replied, that the first which presented itself to my mind was to rest assured that the Spaniards are very happy in their present state: that your Majesty will content yourself with merely taking a few villages, which belong to you of right without entering into the question; that as it was the chief interest of Holland that the country of the Spaniards should serve them as a barrier, they ought to participate in

the happiness of the Spaniards at the moderation of your Majesty. I said this in such a manner as if I wished to put an end to the conversation.

"'He said that at all events he must be well assured that your Majesty aimed at no more; that you might rest content with all that you had done for your glory and your interest; that, if such were the case, he was quite ready to engage with the States and the house of Brunswick to secure your Majesty in all that you possessed, supposing that any person whatever, without exception, should think of attacking you. This being the case, he added, you may be assured that we shall agree at the meeting of Humelingen on conditions which you will find reasonable. After which he again showed me some civilities,' &c.

"At the conclusion of the conversation, of which I gave an account to his Majesty, as I was about to take leave of the Prince of Orange, he asked me whether I was not going to the play, and said that he would take leave of me there. On his arrival he inquired for me, and sent me word to come to him; I accordingly went, and being behind some who wished to hear the play, he said that he would rather walk about and converse with me than listen to the actors. He again exhorted me to speak to him with all frankness. I began by reminding him of what I had once said of M. de Witt, that he would find it extremely difficult to agree with him; but that he must have patience, and be on the alert to take advantage of any opportunities which might present themselves, and that the report in the world was, that having found one he had made use of it.

"The Prince answered that he could assure me, in all truth, that he had not given any order to have him killed, but that on the occasion of the uproar of the populace, which had risen when M. de Witt went to the prison

where his brother was, several of his friends having come to him, he had sent them all to see what was passing, and that, on being informed of his death, without having contributed to it, he had felt not a little relieved.

"I afterwards told him that I had been much surprised at his having thought of making himself sovereign of Guelderland, by the treaty which he had made with the Spaniards, and that it seemed to me that this might have injured him with the Dutch, who might have reason to fear that he desired to extend his sovereignty. He replied that it was not long ere he saw this himself, but that it was not extraordinary that at his age he should have false views, especially as he had no person about him who could rectify his ideas.

"I told him that he had replied with such great urbanity to all I had said that I saw I had not displeased him, which encouraged me to tell him, that it struck me that he had run great risk in placing himself near Valenciennes, in a position to give battle to the king, whose army was stronger and much more inured to war than his; and that if I might venture to say so, I thought he had likewise run great risk at the battle of Monte-Cassel. He replied, very mildly, that all this might be very true, but that I ought to consider that he had had no experience, and that as there was no one from whom he could learn the art of war, he had thought, that, by venturing on some battles, at the risk of losing them, he might make himself capable of gaining others; and he added that he had often wished to give a portion of his property to be able to serve in some campaigns under Monsieur the Prince.

"I told him afterwards that a report had been very current at Paris that his highness had the peace in his pocket when he attacked the gate of Saint-Denis. He answered that he did not receive it till the following day, although, to say the truth, he knew that it was made, and that he

had thought that it might be a reason for M. de Luxembourg to be less on his guard; but that, at any rate, he was determined to take a lesson from it which might be of use to him another time; and that he had considered that even supposing he should lose some men, it would be of little consequence, since it would be necessary to disband them.'

II. Views and Position of the different Pretenders to the Crown of Spain.

[Extract of the Memoirs of Torcy, Vol. I. p. 268.]

"Charles II., King of Spain, was of a weak habit of body, inclined to melancholy; his temper hasty and passionate, though with a mixture of timidity. He could bear no application to business, so that the queen his mother, sister to the emperor Leopold, and regent of the kingdom, made use of the pretence of taking special care of so valuable a life, to protract her authority. By the authority of Don Juan of Austria, the queen was stripped of that power of which she had been so jealous; yet he pursued the same principle as that princess, by keeping the king his master in a state of entire dependance. The prime ministers that succeeded Don Juan followed his example: they took care to conceal from Charles the real state of his kingdom. But he could not be ignorant of the losses he sustained every year. The King of Spain, tired with the continual repetition of bad news, was glad to embrace the peace of Nimeguen (1678), how glorious soever to France: and, considering it as a pledge of the public tranquillity, he determined never to break it.

"His marriage with the princess Mary Louisa, daughter of the Duke of Orleans (1679), seemed to complete the treaties lately entered into. The new queen was not at all ambitious of governing. She was still living, when

Louis XIV. was informed, in 1685, (a truce of twenty years having been signed the preceding year at Ratisbon,) that the Emperor demanded of the King of Spain the sovereignty of the Low Countries for the archduchess his daughter, lately married to the elector of Bavaria. The King of France being convinced that if such a settlement took place, it would be a violation of the truce, gave orders to his ambassador at Madrid to make this declaration to the Catholic king. This prince and his council were alarmed with the fear of a rupture. In the answer given to the French ambassador, the supposed settlement of the Low Countries was treated as a chimera, and assurances were renewed on the part of his Catholic Majesty, of his sincere desire to continue the peace.

"Two years after, 1687, the court of Vienna tried whether she could not prevail on the King of Spain to let the archduke Charles, the Emperor's second son, be educated at his court, as heir presumptive of the crown. Louis XIV., having been informed of this new attempt, sent orders to his ambassador to desire a private audience of the King of Spain, and to present into that prince's own hands a memorial drawn up by his Majesty's orders. The substance of this memorial was, 'that if this prince, influenced by bad counsel, should subvert the order of succession, the king in that case could not avoid executing whatever he thought most effectual for maintaining the Dauphin's rights, and must consider every thing done in favour of the Emperor's son as an infringement of the peace.' The answer was in general terms; but the King of Spain gave the queen leave to tell the ambassador, that he would never nominate a successor till he received the holy viaticum.

"Two years after, 1689, the queen, according to the general opinion, died a victim to the design she had entertained, of preserving peace betwixt France and Spain.

Her death happened at a time when England and Holland, in alliance with the Emperor, was dragging this crown into the war against France. The sudden decease of this princess occasioned violent suspicions; Count Mansfeldt, the imperial ambassador, and the Count of Oropera, who were both suspected of having been the authors and instruments of this wicked piece of policy, took little or no pains to justify themselves.

"The twenty years' truce, concluded in the year 1684, had been broken in 1688, by the Prince of Orange's invading England, and usurping the throne of his father-in-law king James II.; as also by the affair of the coadjutorship of Cologne, in contest betwixt Cardinal Furstenberg and Prince Clement of Bavaria, the elector's brother: and the war still continued, when the King of Spain took to his second wife, the Empress's sister, daughter of the Duke of Newbury, who was afterwards Elector Palatine. This princess, being perfectly acquainted with her husband's temper, knew how to govern him, and of course had the management of every thing in Spain. Sensible to flattery and fond of revenge, she distributed rewards and punishments according to the impulse of each passion. She had a contempt for the Spanish nation, which she could not disguise; so that she was feared by some, but beloved by nobody. Count Melgar, hereditary almirante of Castile, happened to gain her confidence; by which means he had the authority of prime minister without the title. The queen had moreover a privy-council of her own, consisting of a woman called Berleps, and a capuchin friar, both of whom came with her from Germany.

"The concluding of the peace in 1697 put an end to the disagreeable tidings which the King frequently received of the loss of some of his strong towns. The taking of Barcelona by the French had affected him more sensibly than that of any other place; because this being the capital

of Catalonia, and situated in the kingdom of Spain, was better known to him than the towns in Flanders: he was so very ignorant of the importance of the latter, as to believe that Mons belonged to the king of England, and to pity this prince when Louis XIV. made a conquest of this province.

"Spain stood so much the more in need of peace at that time, as the kingdom was destitute of troops, of ships, of money, and council. The grandees, at variance among themselves, without credit or authority, but not without ambition, quietly expected a revolution, which they considered as not very remote. The Spanish monarchy no longer supported itself by its own weight; and the numerous dominions of which it was composed were already designed a prey to the ambition of the principal powers in Europe.

"The King of France's only son, the Dauphin, was by law the only right heir to those extensive territories. His mother, the late queen Maria Teresa, eldest daughter of Philip IV. King of Spain, had the undoubted right of succeeding to the crown in default of male issue; and the sole reason for contesting this right was the jealousy and fear which the other princes of Europe had conceived of the power of France. The common interest of hindering the aggrandisement of this crown had long united these princes; and with this view they maintained that the late Queen of France was legitimately excluded from the succession of the King her father, as well by the renunciation which this princess had made of her rights at her marriage, as by the testamentary disposition of that prince.

"By this act the exclusion was given to the Queen Maria Teresa; and the descendants of Margaret, her youngest sister, born of a second venter, and married to the Emperor Leopold, were called to the crown. From this marriage sprang an only daughter, who was married to the Elector

of Bavaria; so that this princess, and after her the electoral prince her son, would have been entitled to the whole succession of the Spanish monarchy, in default of male issue by Charles II., had the testament of Philip IV. been valid. But the Emperor did not allow this pretended right of the electress his daughter. He wanted to preserve the Spanish monarchy in his own family, and to get the crown settled on the Archduke his second son; for this purpose he renewed the attempt of prevailing on the Catholic King to send for him to Madrid, that he might be educated near his person, as his successor and sole heir to the Spanish monarchy.

"The new Queen of Spain, the Empress's sister, entering heartily into the Emperor's views, employed her whole credit to forward her nephew's interest; but the Queen-mother of Spain was still living, and having the interests of her great grandson the electoral prince more at heart than those of the Archduke her nephew, she strongly opposed the urgent solicitations of the Queen her daughter-in-law.

"The obstacle seemed removed, when the Queen dowager of Spain died the month of May 1696; but the representations of this princess had made such an impression on the mind of the King her son, that the Emperor apprehended it would be very difficult to efface them, and that this could not be effected without the assistance of an able minister. Confiding therefore in the prudence of old Count Harrach, one of the principal members of his council, and master of the horse, he nominated him his ambassador to Spain; and at the same time appointed the young Count his son to succeed him in that embassy.

"The first article of his commission was the revocation of a will, which the King of Spain had made in favour of the prince of Bavaria, in the life time and at the solicitation of the queen-mother. Harrach succeeded in this first

article, the Queen having assisted him with all the influence she had over the king her husband. This prince tore the will, and withstood the solicitations of Cardinal Portocarrero, who pressed him to summon the states of the kingdom, in order to come to a sure and valid decision upon a point of such importance to the monarchy.

"The imperial minister was not so successful in the second article of his commission. The King of Spain could not resolve to nominate his successor, and much less to send for him to Madrid: however he was so tired at length by the queen's importunities, that he promised to invite the Archduke into Spain, if the Emperor at the same time would send ten or twelve thousand of his troops to defend Catalonia.

"This consent of the Catholic king was obtained in 1696, the year before the peace. The war, which still continued, was rather a favourable conjuncture to the Emperor's solicitations; but his council, who were quick in forming and slow in the executing of projects, started continual difficulties, which obstructed the desires of this prince. The funds were wanting, either for the march or for the subsistence of the troops. The imperial ministers pretended that the king of Spain ought to supply them. But his finances would not admit of it; and he thought he did enough in favour of the Emperor, in securing the possession of his dominions to the Archduke, without putting himself also to the expence of an expedition, the whole fruit of which was to be reaped by the Emperor and his son.

"The peace of Ryswick proved a new obstacle to the transporting of imperial troops into Spain. This could not be effected without ships, which were wanting. England indeed and Holland would have furnished them during the war; but the peace had changed the whole state of affairs; so that it would have been a direct infringement of the treaties to support the Emperor's pre-

tensions to the Spanish succession. For which reason the Queen as well as Count Harrach advised him to sit down contented for the present with obtaining the perpetual government of the Milanese for the Archduke, and with sending at different intervals a small number of forces, under the notion of recruits for the imperial troops, which remained in Catalonia after the signing of the treaties. Those troops, though inconsiderable in number, might be sufficient to maintain the Austrian party in Spain, whenever the King should happen to die, — an event which could not be very remote.

"The elector of Bavaria flattered himself with having a strong party in Spain; and being persuaded that he might look upon the Almirante, though devoted to the Queen, as the chief of that party, he had intrusted him with full powers, as he had also intrusted Cardinal Portocarrero, to act in the name of the prince his son, that both of them might take such steps, as they should judge necessary, whenever the succession was open.

"The Elector had also applied to the King of France for his protection, and entreated his Majesty to acquaint him with his intentions, concerning what part of the dominions subject to the Spanish monarchy he should judge proper to reserve to himself.

"The King without rejecting these advances made answer, that as all connexion betwixt France and Spain had been interrupted these nine years by the war, it was necessary, before any project could be formed, that his Majesty should have particular instructions concerning the present state of the forces of that kingdom; moreover that the elector should acquaint him with the nature and strength of the party which he thought he had in Spain; and that his Majesty would forthwith send an ambassador to Madrid, by whose relations he should form a judgment of what was proper to be done, in case the King of Spain

happened to die; an event which might now be considered as at some distance, since this prince's health seemed to be perfectly re-established.

"The Marquis d'Harcourt, having been appointed ambassador to Spain, set out for Madrid in the month of December, 1697, after taking instructions from his Majesty concerning every thing that he had heard by the most faithful accounts of that court. The King particularly recommended to him to make all the inquiry he possibly could into the disposition of the grandees and of the people, in regard of the succession, — to discover and to traverse the secret measures and steps of the imperial ministers. He was directed to use the same vigilance in getting what information he could concerning the party which the Elector of Bavaria fancied he had in Spain. The Emperor and this prince were at that time the only two who had declared themselves pretenders to the succession. The King of France had not taken one step since the peace to maintain the Dauphin's right; but justice pleaded his cause, and the party which favoured the princes of the line of France, though unknown to and unsolicited by his Majesty, was by far the strongest and the most numerous.

"The public was firmly of opinion that the renunciation of the late queen Maria Teresa, even supposing it valid, could not be binding to children who did not so much as exist at the time of performing an act required by paternal authority; that since a minor may, when he comes of age, protest against all dispositions made to his prejudice during his tutelage, there was surely a much stronger reason why this power should be preserved to infants deprived, by any act whatsoever, of their legitimate inheritance.

"The queen's partiality in favour of the Germans, whom she caressed and preferred to natives of the kingdom, was the cause that the national aversion to them increased every day. The people, oppressed with taxes, and grown weary

of a foreign government, were in hopes that a prince of the line of France, establishing a just authority over his subjects, would bring peace and plenty into the kingdom: but everybody judged that this peace could not last, if the King of Spain, in compliance with the importunities of the queen his wife, invited the Archduke to Madrid, with a body of German troops to support his cause, and declared him heir to the whole Spanish monarchy.

"The point which Louis XIV. had chiefly in view was to maintain the peace lately concluded, and to oppose every alteration that could tend to disturb it. It was therefore incumbent upon him to know the real intentions of the King of Spain before he could prescribe any measures to his new ambassador; for which reason his Majesty chose to wait for the éclaircissement this minister should give him, before he determined which of the two parties suited best with his own interest, as well as with the tranquillity of Europe, either to treat with the Emperor, or with the Elector of Bavaria, concerning the partition of the Spanish monarchy.

"The Emperor, who was not so zealous for the public welfare, repeated his solicitations in favour of the Archduke. Harrach strongly represented, that it was a long time since the resolution had been taken in the Spanish council to cause a body of Imperial troops to march into Catalonia, at the expense of his Catholic Majesty, for the security of the province. He now solicited the fulfilling of that purpose. With the like eagerness he demanded that the Archduke should be invited to Madrid, and acknowledged presumptive heir to the Spanish monarchy; and that, as pledge of this acknowledgment, this prince should be forthwith invested with the full and proper sovereignty of Milan.

"The queen of Spain, with all her credit not being able to obtain what the Emperor desired, ordered the Almirante

of Castile to answer the ambassador, that as a peace had been concluded with France, the resolution taken during the war, of marching a body of Imperial troops into Catalonia, and of maintaining them there at the expense of Spain, was of no sort of use in time of tranquillity; further, that the execution of such a scheme was impracticable, the finances being so low as not to admit of the expences necessary, either for maintaining the Emperor's troops in Catalonia, or for transporting them thither; that the prince particularly interested in preserving the crown of Spain in his family, ought to be at the expense of both; that this expense would amount perhaps to a million a year, — an object no way comparable to the advantage which the Emperor expected to derive from it. Besides, it was proper to consider, that France would look upon the transporting of a body of German troops into Catalonia, in time of full peace, and without any visible necessity, as a violation of the late treaty, — the real motive of the destination of those troops being very easy to guess. In vain did Count Harrach represent to them, that the war, which his master was obliged to maintain in Hungary against the Turks, had occasioned such immense expences, and thrown the finances into so bad a condition, as to render it impossible for him to pay the troops he should send to Spain. But they wanted money at Madrid as much as at Vienna; and neither England nor Holland would lend them any transports.

"The King was informed of Count Harrach's demands before the Marquis d'Harcourt arrived at Madrid. As these demands were likely to be repeated, he ordered his ambassador to declare to the court of Madrid, that every step which the King of Spain should take to the prejudice of his legitimate heirs, would be considered by his Majesty as a rupture betwixt the two crowns.

"The King of Portugal was not afraid to enter the

lists, as heir to the Spanish monarchy. He is said to have been excited to these pretensions by the Count Oropera, who was a descendant of the house of Braganza, before this house had made good his right to the crown of Portugal. He was in hopes that, if the King of Portugal should ascend the throne of Spain, he himself might fill the throne which this prince would leave vacant.

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"His Majesty had determined the preceding year to prefer the repose of his people and the glory of consolidating the peace of Europe, to that of settling a prince of his family upon a throne which had been at enmity with France ever since it was possessed by the house of Austria. The King chose rather to content himself with a part of the Spanish monarchy, as an equivalent for the Dauphin's lawful rights, than to engage to hinder the dismemberment of the several dominions belonging to that crown.

"The Dauphin, who during his whole life had been always submissive to the will of the king his father, made no sort of difficulty in agreeing to the resolution, which his Majesty had judged most conducive to the good of the kingdom and the general interest of Europe.

"The partition of the Spanish monarchy, in case King Charles II. should happen to die without issue, was not a new scheme. The weak constitution of that prince, and his frequent illnesses and complaints, had occasioned the forming a project of that kind so early as the year 1668. The King had agreed upon a partition with the Emperor Leopold, by a treaty signed at Vienna, and, for the sake of secrecy, deposited in the hands of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, till the Spanish succession should be open.

"This treaty, which had been ineffectual ever since the year 1668, served as a pattern to the precautions necessary for preserving the tranquillity of Europe. True it is that circumstances were altered; the state of the Emperor's family being quite different. This prince thirty years

before had had no sons; but he had two at the time of concluding the peace of Ryswick; and there was no possibility of satisfying the ambition of the house of Austria, unless the Spanish monarchy descended entire to the youngest of these princes.

"Finding it therefore to no purpose to treat at that time about a partition with the court of Vienna, the King judged it would be more conducive to this end to enter into a negotiation with the King of England, William III., whose influence in Holland was so great as to be able to determine the States-general to follow his example. * *

"These circumstances, joined to the sincere desire of maintaining the peace, determined Louis XIV. to propose a partition of the Spanish monarchy to King William, nearly on the same plan as that which his Majesty had concluded with the Emperor Leopold in the year 1668."

III. Duchess of Portsmouth.—P. 431.

Louise Rénée de Penancourt de Querouaille, or Keroualle. "She had been," says Burnet, "maid of honour to Madame, the King's (Charles II.) sister, and had come over with her to Dover, where the King had expressed such a regard to her, that the Duke of Buckingham, who hated the Duchess of Cleveland, intended to put her on the King. He told him that it was a decent piece of tenderness for his sister to take care of some of her servants: so she was the person the King easily consented to invite over. That Duke assured the King of France, that he could never reckon himself sure of the King, but by giving him a mistress that should be true to his interests. It was soon agreed to. The King was presently taken with her. She studied to please and observe him in every thing: so that he passed

the rest of his life in a great fondness for her. She stuck firm to the French interest, and was its chief supporter."

Charles II. created her Duchess of Portsmouth, Countess of Fareham, and Baroness of Petersfield, all in the county of Southampton, to enjoy during her life, by letters patent, dated at Westminster August 19th, 1673.

Louis XIV. was not less grateful than Charles II. for her tractability. This same year he presented to her the lands d'Aubigny by the subjoined Letters Patent: —

"Louis, par la grace de Dieu, Roi de France et de Navarre, à tous présens et à venir, salut. La terre d'Aubigni-sur-Nière, dans notre province de Berry, ayant été donnée dès l'année 1422, par le Roi Charles VII., l'un de nos prédécesseurs, à Jean Stuart, comme une marque des grands et considérables services qu'il avait rendus dans la guerre à ce roi et sa couronne, et cette donation ayant été accompagnée de la condition que la dite terre d'Aubigni passerait de mâle en mâle à tous les descendants du dit Jean Stuart, avec reversion à notre couronne, lorsque la branche masculine qui serait venue de lui serait éteinte, ce cas porté par les dites lettres de donation est arrivé l'année dernière par la mort de notre cousin le Duc de Richemont, dernier de la ligne masculine du dit Jean Stuart. Mais parce que cette terre ayant été, durant tant d'années, dans une maison qui avait l'honneur d'appartenir de si près à notre très-cher et très-aimé frère le Roi de la Grande Bretagne, le dit Roi nous aurait fait témoigner, qu'il serait bien-aise qu'à cette considération nous voulussions bien la faire passer à une personne qu'il affectionerait, et rentrer après elle dans une maison, qui fit encore unie par le sang à la sienne; qu'à ce sujet il nous aurait fait requérir que nous voulussions bien accorder nos lettres de donation de la dite terre d'Aubigni-sur-Nière, à la dame . . . . de Kerouel, Duchesse de Portsmouth, pour passer après sa mort à tel des enfants naturels de notre frère la Roi de la Grande Bretagne qu'il voudra nommer, sous les mêmes clauses et

conditions que la même terre fit premièrement donnée par le Roi Charles VII. en 1422 au susdit Jean Stuart, et que la dite terre étant passée à tel fils naturel du dit Roi de la Grande Bretagne qu'il aura voulu nommer, elle demeure au dit fils naturel et à ses descendants de mâle en mâle, avec droit de reversion à notre couronne, à défaut d'enfants mâles, et par l'extinction de la ligne masculine qui serait sortie de lui. Comme nous embrassons avec plaisir les occasions qui se présentent de donner à notre dit frère le Roi de la Grande Bretagne des marques de notre amitié, et de l'extrême considération que nous avons pour ce qu'il désire, et que nous avons aussi-bien agréable qu'une terre qui était demeurée durant tant d'années dans une maison si illustre, retourne en quelque sorte à son origine, en passant un jour entre les mains d'un fils naturel de notre dit frère, nous avons bien voulu disposer de la dite terre d'Aubigny, en la manière que nous en avons été requis par notre susdit frère le Roi de la Grande Bretagne.

" A ces causes, savoir faisons que notre grace spéciale, pleine puissance et autorité royale, nous avons à la dite dame . . . . de Kerouel, Duchesse de Portsmouth, et après elle à celui des fils naturels de notre dit frère le Roi de la Grande Bretagne qu'il nommera, et aux descendants mâles en ligne directe du dit fils naturel, donné, cédé, transporté et délaissé, donnons, cédons, transportons et délaissons par ces présentes, signées de notre main, le fonds et propriété de la terre d'Aubigni, avec tous et un chacun ses droits, appartenances et dépendances, pour enjouir et user par la dite Duchesse, et après son décès, celui des fils naturels du dit Roi de la Grand Bretagne qu'il nommera, et les descendants mâles en droite ligne du dit fils naturel, comme de leur propre chose et loyal acquêt, tout ainsi que nous ferions, sans aucune chose en retenir et reserver à nous et à nos successeurs rois, que les foi et hommage, ressort et souveraineté, à condition toutefois que la dite terre d'Aubigni,

avec ses appartenances et dépendances, retournera à notre domaine, au défaut des mâles descendants en droite ligne du fils naturel qui aura été nommé par le susdit Roi de la Grande Bretagne.

" Si donnons en mandement à nos amis et féaux les gens tenant notre cour de parlement et chambre de nos comptes à Paris, que ces présentes lettres de don ils aient à enrégister, et du contenu en icelles faire jouir et user pleinement, paisiblement, et à toujours la dite dame . . . . de Kerouel, Duchesse de Portsmouth, et après elle le fils naturel que le dit Roi de la Grande Bretagne nommera, et les descendants mâles en droite ligne du dit fils naturel, cessant et fesant cesser tous troubles et empêchements à ce contraires.

" Car tel est notre plaisir ; et afin que ce soit chose ferme et stable à toujours, nous avons fait mettre notre sceau à ces dites présentes, sauf en autre chose notre droit et l'autrui en toutes. Donné a Saint-Germain-en-Laye, au mois de Décembre, l'an de grace 1673, et de notre règne le trente-unième."

The very important services she had rendered to Louis XIV. in aiding him to make England a state dependent on the pay of France, were soon forgotten. But for the friendship of Courtin, who was long ambassador in England, " where," says Saint-Simon, " through Madame de Portsmouth, he made King Charles II. do what he pleased," she would have been banished for some wicked designs, as the same author relates as follows : —

" Revenue en France, et Charles II. mort, elle y était avec peu de considération par la vie qu'elle y menait dans Paris. Il revint au Roi qu'on s'était licencié chez elle, et elle-même de parler fort librement de lui et de Madame de Maintenon ; sur quoi M. de Louvois eut ordre d'expédier une lettre de cachet pour l'exiler fort loin. Courtin était ainsi intime de M. de Louvois : il avait une petite maison à Meudon, et il était sur le pied d'entrer librement dans

son cabinet à toutes heures. Un soir qu'il y entra et que M. de Louvois écrivait seul, et qu'il continuait d'écrire, Courtin vit cette lettre de cachet sur son bureau. Quand Louvois eut fini, Courtin lui demanda avec émotion ce que c'était que cette lettre de cachet. Louvois lui dit la cause. Courtin s'écria que c'était surement quelque mauvais office, mais que, quand le rapport serait vrai, le Roi était payé pour n'aller pas contre elle au-delà d'un avis d'être plus circonspecte ; qu'il le priait et le chargeait de le dire de sa part au Roi, avant que de l'envoyer ; et que, si le Roi ne voulait pas l'en croire sur sa parole, il fit au moins, avant de passer outre, voir les dépêches de ses négociations d'Angleterre, surtout ce qu'il y avait obtenu d'important par Madame de Portsmouth lors de la guerre de Hollande et pendant toute son ambassade ; et qu'après de tels services rendus par elle, c'était se déshonorer que de les oublier. Louvois, qui s'en souvenait bien, et à qui Courtin en rappela plusieurs traits considérables, suspendit l'envoi de la lettre de cachet, et rendit compte au Roi de l'aventure, et de ce que Courtin lui avait dit ; et sur ce témoignage qui rappela plusieurs faits au Roi, qui fit jeter au feu la lettre de cachet, et fit dire à la Duchesse de Portsmouth d'être plus réservée."

On the 13th of June 1689, Louis XIV. gave her a pension of twelve thousand *livres*, doubtless to indemnify her for the vast possessions and pensions which she had obtained from Charles II., and of which she had been deprived by the Revolution.

"Aujourd'hui, 13 Juin, 1689, le Roi étant à Versailles, voulant gratifier et traiter favorablement la Duchesse de Portsmouth en considération du zèle et de l'affection particulière qui elle a toujours fait paraître en toutes les occasions pour le service de S. M., et les avantages de sa couronne, Sa Majesté lui a accordé et fait don de la somme

de douze mille livres de pension annuelle *, qu'elle veut lui être dorénavant payée par le garde de son trésor royal, voulant à cet effet que la dite Dame de Portsmouth doit couchée et employée sur les états de ses pensions étrangères, qui en seront expédiés, et ce en vertu du présent brevet que S. M., pour témoignage de sa volonté a voulu signer de sa main, et fait contresigner par moi, son Conseiller Secrétaire de ses commandements et finances.

"Signé Louis,
"et plus bas, Colbert."

This very year Louis XIV. raised this pension to 20,000 *livres*, as narrated by the accurate Dangeau in his *Journal:*

"13 Décembre, 1689.—Madame la Duchesse de Portsmouth, à qui le Roi avait donné une pension de 12,000 livres, il y a six mois, a prié S. M. de vouloir bien que la pension passat sur la tête du Duc de Richmond son fils, et de la vouloir augmenter de quelque chose. Le Roi y a consenti, et l'a augmentée de 8000 livres, si bien qu'il a présentement 20,000 livres."

This pension without doubt ceased to be paid, or it may be that she only found it insufficient; for in 1697, during the negotiation of the treaty of Ryswick, she addressed the subjoined letter and note to Louis XIV:—

LA DUCHESSE DE PORTSMOUTH À LOUIS XIV.

1697.

"Je ne sais plus, Sire, de quelle manière m'y prendre pour obliger et engager votre Majesté à m'honorer de ses graces et de sa protection essentiellement; et la douleur que

* et viagère. That word has been erased on the minute.

j'ai de m'en voir seule privée, malgré le penchant que votre grand et généreux cœur a de faire du bien à tout le monde, me rend plus sensible au malheur de m'en voir privée et de toute sorte d'agrément. Je ne m'en étonnerais pas, Sire, si je n'avais l'honneur de vous entendre dire à ma faveur une chose que je croyais au-dessus des humains, qui était que vous m'étiez obligé. Il est vrai, Sire, qu'une telle expression doit servir de récompense. Aussi mon cœur et ma gloire en ont été pleinement satisfaits et flattés, et c'est ce qui me fait ressentir avec plus de vivacité l'état qui me force à vous importuner si souvent et si infructueusement touchant mes intérêts. C'est que je suis la personne du monde la moins intéressée, et la grace que j'ai osé vous demander depuis près de trois ans n'en est pas une si excessive pour que vous me deviez regarder ni comme importune, ni intéressée, et le plaisir d'être regardée de vous si j'étais assez heureuse pour que vous me la voulussiez accorder comme (à?) une personne comblée et charmée de vos bontés, me la fait encore plus désirer que le besoin que j'en ai, quoiqu'il soit bien grand. Laissez-vous toucher, Sire, en ma faveur dans un temps où si généreusement et détaché de vos propres intérêts, vous donnez le repos et la paix à l'Europe, quand vous êtes en état plus que jamais de lui imposer telles lois qu'il vous plairait. Que je me ressente, Sire, de cette bonté et de cette belle générosité, et ne regardez pas la persévérance que j'ai à vous supplier comme un manque de respect et de soumission à vos volontés, car jamais personne n'en put avoir davantage, et si vous me permettez de le dire, une amitié plus zelée pour tout ce qui vous regarde.

"Dans la confiance de mes respectueux sentiments j'ose aussi vous supplier de m'accorder la grace de recommander essentiellement mes intérêts sur mes justes prétentions en Angleterre, de manière que l'on ne doute pas que vous ne m'honoriez particulièrement de votre protection, et si ce n'était trop présumer, j'oserais supplier V. M. d'en charger M. le Maréchal de Boufflers, et je crois que cela aurait tout

le bon effet que j'en puisse souhaiter. Si toutefois, Sire, je prends ici plus de liberté que je ne dois, pardonnez-le moi, puisque très-certainement je sacrifierais plutôt mes intérêts, et même ma vie, que de manquer à ce que je vous dois. Faites-moi, s'il vous plait, l'honneur d'en être persuadé, et du profond respect avec lequel je suis, etc."

Note accompagnant la lettre précédent.

"Le feu Roi de la Grande Bretagne avait donné à la Duchesse de Portsmouth une pension de 8000 guinées pour en jouir pendant qu'elle vivrait. Cette pension était établie par des lettres patentes scellées du grand sceau d'Angleterre. Elle en a joui depuis la mort du dit seigneur Roi jusqu'à ce que la guerre ait commencé. Sa Majesté eut très-humblement suppliée d'accorder sa protection à la dite Duchesse, et d'ordonner à ses plénipotentiaires de faire les instances les plus efficaces qu'ils pourront, afin que la dite Duchesse soit rétablie et maintenue par le traité de paix dans la pleine et paisible jouissance de sa pension et de ce qui lui en est dû."

The year following she went to England, where she remained some months, attempting, but in vain, to gain from William III. the payment of her pensions. In Vernon's letters to the Duke of Shrewsbury occurs the following curious passage, bearing date 25th August:—

"My lord Romney treated the Duchess of Portsmouth yesterday at Greenwich; she went thither and came back by water. I do not know but it was the wisest way, for the mob begins to ask what she comes over for, and whether she thinks to carry back 100,000*l.* under pretence of arrears of pensions; and some come out with it, that she shall not eat Christmas-pies here."

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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